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**A HISTORY OF SPANISH
LITERATURE**

A HISTORY OF SPANISH LITERATURE

BY

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FOREWORD

THE increasing interest in the Spanish language and its literature which has been noticeable of late years in the general public in England, and the rising popularity of the subject in the public schools, especially the larger ones, has prompted this outline of the history of a literature which has many affinities with our own and which at one time or another has had deep influence on English writers.

None but the specialised student has the time or the desire to read more than the best and most representative books of a foreign literature, and the mere chronicling of authors' names is an intolerably dull business for writer and reader alike. Hence, in a book of this kind careful selection of the most important works and authors seems a necessity, though a sprinkling of background figures is needed here and there to avert misconception. In a book which is likely to come into the hands of young students, ready-made opinions are always dangerous, for they tend to encourage a spurious form of knowledge which often shuts out first-hand reading. The proper function of a history of literature being to trace the development of the art, to point out the currents which have flowed from time to time, and to indicate the sources of influence which have acted at one time or another, there seems no need to pad the work with literary criticism which is better done elsewhere.

These are the points which have been kept in view in writing this book. If the reader judges that it gives a reasonable account of the growth of Spanish literary art and inspires a desire to acquire a first-hand knowledge

of the works mentioned, then it will have fulfilled its object.

The author wishes to place on record his thanks to his publishers for the interest in the book they have shown, and their helpful co-operation in preparing it for publication.

E. D. L.

HARROW-ON-THE-HILL,
November, 1981.

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A HISTORY OF SPANISH LITERATURE

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS

The Setting.—Spain is a country of geographical transition. An appendage of Europe on the one hand, she is an outpost of Africa on the other, while her shores mark the western boundary of the great inland sea over which Asiatic culture travelled westwards. Hence, she is neither wholly European, nor yet African, but both, with an Asiatic blend as well. Her physical structure is a continuation of that of Europe, but the barren, rocky *páramos* of the tableland of Castile with its North African flora give to many parts an aspect similar to that of Morocco. Her climate, too, changes from place to place to adapt itself to that of her neighbours, so that the Moor finds himself at home in the south, the Provençal in Cataluña, and the Gascon in Viscaya. Moreover, natural facilities for intercourse with her neighbours have brought her into close relation with them. While the structural tilt of the land causes her to look towards Africa, the narrowness of the intervening strait, the existence of good harbours in Andalucía, and the southerly aspect of the attractive valley of the Guadalquivir have always invited the attention of the Africans. Eastwards, the stepping stones of the Balearic Islands have from earliest times led to intercourse with Italy, and contact with the mainland has been continuous through the gateways of the Pyrenees.

Spain is therefore a natural zone of fusion of races and

culture. Her earliest people, known to the Romans as Iberians, are thought to have entered her from Africa in remote prehistoric times by way of the land bridge which existed at the Straits of Gibraltar. After long centuries and just before historical times, a wave of Alpine immigration occurred, which brought Celtic civilisation into her eastern and probably her northern regions. While this slow penetration was in progress, Phœnician traders, closely followed by Greeks, reached the coasts of the south and east and there established dépôts which became radiating centres of a higher civilisation.

From this point onwards, the early history of the country is one of a succession of invasions. A dispute between the natives and the Phœnicians of Seville brought about the intervention of the Carthaginians on behalf of their kinsmen, and a steady advance of Punic domination followed. The fall of Carthage led to the conquest of the Peninsula by the Romans, who held it for some 600 years. After the taking of Rome in A.D. 410, the country was invaded by the Germanic tribes who were overwhelming the Roman Empire, and there succeeded a period in which a barbarous Gothic superstratum dominated the more cultured Hispano-Roman masses. In 710 occurred the great invasion of the Moors, which all but overran the country and which still flooded parts of it as late as the year 1492.

During the Middle Ages a close relation was maintained between Languedoc and Cataluña, and the Albigensian Crusade drove many thousands of people from France into Spain. Later, under the influence of the Church, intercourse was established with Italy, and the conquests of Ferdinand the Catholic, by bringing southern Italy under the dominion of Spain, took numbers of Italian merchants, sailors, soldiers, and statesmen over to the latter country. At the end of the 17th century, the dynastic alliance with France introduced Gallic elements which were slight in racial effect, but of supreme importance to the culture of the nation.

In spite of her facilities for intercourse with foreign peoples of varied culture, Spain is, within herself, a country of racial isolation. Her barren tablelands and rugged mountains tend to separate her into more or less inaccessible compartments. The major divisions were politically independent of each other in the Middle Ages and even to-day differ in dialect and culture to a degree not found in any other European country. The remoter parts formed isolated districts into which new races and culture penetrated but slowly, and which therefore were centres of a conservatism which rejected the inflow of new ideas. Consequently, in Spain is seen the paradox of a country whose geography favours external influence, but which jealously guards in its remote and protected regions its native races and traditional civilisation. As a result, exotic influence has always been slowly and healthily assimilated and has therefore added to the vitality of the old stock.

The mixture of racial, cultural, and linguistic elements is the great central fact in Spanish literature and explains to a large extent its peculiar traits. Unless this is realised, indeed, the development of the literature cannot be understood. The basic element of the nation is a blend of Mediterranean and Alpine races found in the country by the Romans and modified by subsequent infusion of other types. The chief external influence has been exerted by the Romans, a nation distinguished in history by its power of imposing its language and civilisation on subject peoples. Spain, one of its earliest provinces, absorbed its civilisation to a greater extent perhaps than any other part of the Empire. If proof be required of her complete Romanisation, it lies in the fact that in the Silver, or later, Age of Latin literature Spanish writers like the Senecas, Lucan, Martial, Quintilian, Pomponius Mela, and Columella—to name the chief only—seem to have excelled the Romans themselves in literary art and to have become leaders in the very culture imbibed from Rome.

Hardly less was the influence of the Moors. The Islamic invaders represented a civilisation far higher than that prevailing in contemporary Europe, plunged as that continent was into the dark ages of barbaric migration. The court of Córdoba was a centre of learning to which flocked large numbers of scholars from the East. Its great library, collected with immense pains, was one of the wonders of the world. Literature flourished, philosophy and scientific knowledge reached a pitch unknown elsewhere, architecture, as represented by its magnificent remains, was of a high order, and the refinement and chivalry of the court was a model for the rest of Europe. The failure of the Moors to complete their conquest prevented their influence from overwhelming that of the Romans, but its force must not be disregarded in the study of Spanish literature. Large numbers of Spaniards, known to their contemporaries as *mudéjares*, embraced Islam and its culture, while even greater multitudes, the *mozárabes*, lived under the tolerant Moorish rule, preserving their religion and some of their Roman culture, it is true, but adopting the language, customs, and civilisation of their masters. At the same time intercourse was continuous between the Moors and the independent Spaniards, and the influence of the cultured Africans could hardly have failed to be enormous upon the Christians, reduced as the latter were by the catastrophic invasion to a state of barbarism.

Germanic influence scarcely survived the Moorish invasion, yet its effects are distinctly seen in the earliest literary remains, and it forms one of the basic elements of modern Spanish literature. From the 12th to the 15th century the over-refined literary cult of Provence became a dominant influence, and when it ceased to have effect it was succeeded by the influence of the Italian Renaissance. After a period of intense nationalism, Spain fell under the intellectual sway of France and endured a century of barren imitation in literature. Napoleon's treacherous attack drove her into the arms of England, whose romantic

revival she speedily copied. Only in recent years has she succeeded in returning to her own ideals and, free from political entanglement and in a position of isolation, has been developing along her own lines in a far more independent manner than any other European nation.

Often there is great difficulty in tracing the influence of this or that people on Spanish literature, for cultural influence is one of the things which will not submit to the scales of accurate scientific measurement. But with the literary medium of language it is different. As soon as it begins to be written down, language may be analysed and made to disclose the secrets of its origin. Careful study of the Spanish dialects reveals but few words derived from the aboriginal Celtiberian tongue, and derivatives from the ancient Greek and Phœnician and from the Germanic are equally rare. The basis of the language is the Roman speech adopted by the natives to the rejection of their own. The stock was not the literary Latin of our classical texts, however, but the *sermo vulgaris* or everyday speech of the masses. Popular Latin differed from literary Latin in vocabulary and syntax, and it had also undergone morphological developments of which the disappearance of case-endings was the chief. In the Peninsula further changes took place, both phonetic and morphological, and the tendency towards simplification and analysis continued. Local modifications gave rise to numerous dialects of which Castilian, Catalan, Aragonese, Leonese, Gallego-Portuguese, and Andalucían were the chief. A peculiarity of the Spanish language is the persistence of these dialects, in spite of the recognition of Castilian as the official language, and the growth of Spanish-American idioms in modern times has added to the complication.

The Moorish occupation added a vast number of words, many of which bear the prefix *al-*, and exerted considerable influence on the phonetic development of Latin-derived terms. Ecclesiastical Latin has given a few words and influenced the development of others, while in the late

Middle Ages and during the Renaissance large numbers of 'inkhorn terms' were introduced mostly from the same source. The reign of the Spanish Bourbons saw French influence acting on vocabulary and idiom, and in modern times Spanish has, like other western European languages, assimilated words from every part of the globe. In particular, it has adopted a large number from the aboriginal tongues of America. Hence, Spanish is a neo-Latin language which owing to historical circumstances has undergone considerable and varied external influence. To this variety of influence are due the enormous vocabulary of the language and its flexibility and perfection as a literary medium.

The Epic and its Origin.—The literature which has sprung from the Spanish amalgam of peoples bears the distinguishing marks of each. From the Iberian it gets that facility which even among the peasants of to-day in the east of Spain where the Mediterranean element is strong shows itself in improvised verse and song, and which among the literary from Berceo to Blasco Ibáñez has led to an astonishing volume of production. Without this innate gift Lope de Vega could not have written a play, as he is said to have done, in twenty-four hours—and that play one of his best in the opinion of many critics. His total production of 2000 dramas barely exceeds that of Calderón, but makes Shakspeare's 36 seem insignificant. The Celtic imagination of the Alpine race is not so conspicuous, yet it shows itself in the *Amadis de Gaula* and other novels of chivalry, the Spanish counterparts of the Arthurian legend. Eastern sententiousness, however, is a marked feature of Spanish literature, appearing in avowed collections of proverbs and popular sayings, playing an important rôle in works like *El conde Lucanor* and the *Quijote*, and being in fact present more or less in all literary works. From the Moors, too, came a body of Eastern tales which have persisted up to modern times and have formed the mainspring of some of the greatest works, like *La Vida es sueño*. From the Goths

Spanish literature derived little but an inspiration for its early poems and some of the ruder characteristics of the first songs.

It was under this Germanic inspiration that the earliest extant poems were composed. Among the Germanic peoples there existed the practice of recording heroic deeds in poems of an epic nature for the entertainment of the heroes themselves as well as of those who did not witness the deeds. *Hæc olim meminisse juvabit.* The Goths doubtless had literary traditions similar to those which in other lands produced *Beowulf*, *The Fight at Finnsburh*, and the *Nibelungen Lied*, not to mention the early epics of France. Menéndez Pidal considered the link between the Gothic poems and the Spanish epic was to be found in the *Romance de Gaiferos*, which he regarded as *un fragmento conservado por casualidad del lazo misterioso que une la epopeya visigoda a la poesía heroica castellana*. The defeat of don Rodrigo by the Moors drove the surviving Gothic nobles into the Asturian mountains, and the little band which in the year 732 dealt a severe check to the enemy at Covadonga was probably led by, if not largely composed of, Gothic refugees. By this success their leader, Pelayo, became the first hero of the Reconquest, and his companions doubtless celebrated their victory and the deeds of the chieftain in the usual Germanic poetic fashion.

As the war proceeded, other deeds would give rise to further poems. These would naturally be composed in Romance, since the Goths had adopted the language of the country; but they would show traces of Germanic form and manner. None of the earliest poems have survived, but a 14th century MS. preserves one which was probably composed about 1140 and deals with the famous Cid Campeador, who flourished about 1070. This poem is an epic whose plain narrative of heroic deeds is indicative of Germanic origin. Its metre is based not on the syllabic system of Latin prosody, but on a system of stresses interspersed with an irregular number of unstressed

syllables. A strong cæsura divides the verses into half-lines, as in Germanic versification ; but the half-lines are connected by the sense, not by alliteration, while the lines are bound together by assonance, as in the early epics of France.

This explanation of the origin of the Spanish epic is not accepted by all scholars. Some, relying on the lateness of the extant Spanish works and on certain minor resemblances to French parallels, have thought the poems to be imitations of the French *chansons de geste*. This idea is now exploded, for it is evident that, assuming a Germanic origin for the epic on both sides of the Pyrenees, certain family likenesses both in conception and form were bound to occur. Even if some slight French influence were proved to exist in the *Poema de mio Cid*, further proof would have to be brought of the presence of such influence in the earlier works. Menéndez y Pelayo has shown that in Spain, where epic composition long continued and where accordingly the older and ruder versions would be discarded for the newer and more refined, these earlier poems were more likely to disappear than in France, where the *chanson de geste* went out of vogue far earlier and where the poems would therefore be treasured in safe places and preserved.

A modern theory, which has failed to secure much support, attributes an Arabic origin to the epic in Spain. Its exponent, Julián Ribera, relies for his evidence on the existence of certain Moorish legends. Unfortunately for his theory, most of those he quotes deal with Gothic chieftains, and, therefore, if they have any connexion with epic poetry, they seem to confirm its relation to the Goths. Besides, the assumption of a Germanic origin for the Spanish epic is more probable, since the epic appears as an aftermath of the invasion of the Teutonic peoples in all the countries which they conquered, and since the Moors, who have never produced epic poetry of this type at all, would therefore hardly be likely to inspire others with it.

Passing from theories as to their origin to the poems themselves, the earliest survivor, the *Poema de mio Cid*, is an epic of 3730 extant lines and is divided into three parts or *cantares*. A short passage has been lost at the beginning, but its subject-matter may be gathered from the early chronicles. The first *cantar* relates the banishment from Castile of Rodrigo Díaz de Bivar by Alfonso VI at the instigation of private enemies. Leaving his wife and daughters in the monastery of San Pedro de Cardeña, the hero sets out with a band of faithful followers to carve out for himself a new fortune in Moorish territory.

21

Aun cra de día, non era puesto el sol,
Mandó veer sus yentes mio Cid el Campeador :
sin las peonadas e omnes valientes que son,
notó trezientas lanças que todas tienén pendones.

22

‘ Temprano dat çevada, sí el Criador vos salue !
El qui quisiere comer ; e qui no, cavalgue.
Passaremos la sierra que fiera es e grand,
la tierra del rey Alfonsso esta noch la podemos quitar.
Después qui nos buscare fallar vos podrá ’.
De noch passan la sierra, vinida es la man,
e por la loma ayuso pienssan de andar.
En medio d’una montaña maravillosa e grand
fizo mio Cid posar e çevada dar.
Díxoles a todos commo querié trasnochar ;
vasallos tan buenos por coraçon lo an,
mandado de so señor todo lo han a far.
Ante que anochesca pienssan de cabalgar.

He succeeds in taking first Castejón, then Alcocer, and, his power increasing with success, he subdues the whole district between Saragossa and Teruel. His advance eastwards brings him into conflict with Moors under the protection of the Count of Barcelona, and, having defeated and captured the Count in a pitched battle, he increases his glory by generously releasing his captive. The second *cantar* deals with the marriage of the hero’s daughters.

With the object of making a good match for them, Rodrigo extends his raids as far as the sea and eventually takes the town of Valencia and holds it against a great relieving army. His fame has now spread to such an extent among the Moors that they give him the title of Cid (*sidi* = lord). (Before this he had held the title of *Campeador*, or champion, to the king of Castile.) Even Alfonso is moved to pardon him and does so on condition of his giving his daughters in marriage to the Counts of Carrión. The *cantar* ends with their marriage. The third relates the cowardice of the Counts and their ridicule at the hands of the Cid's men. Leaving Valencia therefore, they take their revenge on their wives, by half beating them to death and deserting them in a wood. The Cid demands justice of the king, but the Counts are afraid to face the ordeal by battle. However, Rodrigo attacks them in their own home and vanquishes them, and his daughters are married again, one to the prince of Aragon, the other to the prince of Navarre.

Grandes son los gozos	en Valençia la mayor,
porque tan ondrados	foron los del Canpeador.
Prisos a la barba	Roy Diaz so señor :
' Grado al rey del çielo	mis fijas vengadas son !
Agora las ayan quitas	heredades de Carrión !
Sin vergüença las casare	o a qui pese o a qui non '.
Andidieron en pleytos	los de Navarra e de Aragon,
ovieron su ajunta	con Alfons el de Leon.
Fizieron sos casamientos	don Elvira de doña Sol ;
los primeros foron grandes,	mas aquestos son mijores,
a mayor ondra las casa	que lo que primera fo.
Veed qual ondra creçe	el que en buen ora naçio,
quando señoras son sues fijas	de Navarra e de Aragon.
Oy los reyes d'Espana	sos parientes son.

Formerly accepted as history, the authority of the poem was first challenged by Cervantes (*D.Q.* I. 49) and afterwards more seriously by the historian Masdeu. Modern opinion regards it as having a foundation of history into which certain fictitious incidents have been woven. As a record of the customs, manners, dress, etc., of the period of

its date of composition and also as a specimen of early Castilian, it is an invaluable document.

Nor is it without literary merit. Its style is rough, but manly, and its narrative is simple and direct. It aims, not at poetic flights, but at recording the facts of history—which, as has been said before, was the object of the Germanic epic. Yet its construction is not without artistic skill, and the interest is well maintained throughout. Hence, it is far more readable than the prolix compositions of the succeeding age. It is divided into paragraphs, each of which has a single assonance, and which vary considerably in length. The occurrence of poetic catch phrases like *el que en buen ora nacio* goes to prove that the poem was not a first attempt, and indeed the style as a whole is sufficiently refined to postulate a number of ruder ancestors. The author's name is unknown, but he may have been a monk of San Pedro de Cardena, with which monastery the narrative is connected. Applying Bédier's theory of the *chanson de geste* to the Spanish counterpart, we may assume that the extant version of the poem was written to advertise San Pedro de Cardena among the crowds of pilgrims journeying to the shrine of Santiago de Compostela.

In the 13th century the poem was used as a source for the *Crónica general*, a history of Spain which will be noticed later. It is from this work that the lost portion can be recovered. An examination of the *Crónica* by Menéndez y Pelayo showed that embedded in it are whole poems which have been incorporated in the narrative without being first turned into prose, and the same scholar has reconstructed two other epics which deal with the Cid, *El cantar del rey Fernando* and *El cerco de Zamora*, and another, *La gesta de los infantes de Lara*, which relates a famous historical incident. Following the methods of Menéndez y Pelayo, other scholars have discovered epics on Sancho II of Castile, the famous battle of Roncevalles, and Abbot Juan de Montemayor.

After reaching its highwater mark in the *Poema de mio*

Cid, the Spanish epic gradually died away. In the middle of the 13th century a 'learned' epic, the *Poema de Fernán González*, appeared, but it did not catch the spirit of the older poems. This was followed by the *Poema de Alfonso Onceno*, a work dealing with the achievements of that king. Its author seems to have been one Rodrigo Yannes, of whom nothing is known. The poem has the importance of showing the old epic in process of development into the frontier ballad. Still later, at the beginning of the 14th century, the last of the epics appeared in the *Cantar de Rodrigo* or *Las mocedades del Cid*, in which the tendency towards the ballad is again seen. A number of works, notably *Las mocedades del Cid*, a drama by Guillén de Castro, have been inspired by this last flicker of the old epics.

The Lyric.—As the heroic age of the Reconquest died away, the poems to which it gave rise gradually disappeared and were replaced by songs and other lyrical verse. The origin of the Spanish lyric has been a matter of controversy. While some authorities have claimed for it a descent from the ancient Iberian songs which were referred to by Silius Italicus as common among the Galician peasantry in the 1st century A.D., others believe it to have been a continuation in a debased form of the Latin tradition introduced by the Romans, while yet a third school looks to Provence for its genesis and hence gives a later date to its first poems. In recent years Julián Ribera has attributed the origin of at least some of the poems to Moorish influence during the first centuries of the occupation.

The facts on which these theories are based are not decisive. The earliest extant lyric is not a popular poem, while the popular poems that survive do not seem to be crude first attempts. Moreover, in the *Cantar del cerco de Zamora* and in other early poems there are references to lyrics which prove their existence in spite of the lack of survivors. On the whole, while proof cannot be definitely given, it seems likely that all the opposing theories are

partially correct and that there existed from earliest times among the peasantry the practice of composing songs and recitations, perhaps on a debased Latin tradition; that Moorish lyrical poetry may have influenced these compositions in form and matter; and that a second and later external influence was derived from Provence.

The first lyrics that have come down to us are, however, not native, but imitated from French originals. Dynastic alliances, the introduction of French monks into Spain, and the influence of pilgrims journeying to the shrine of Santiago de Compostela brought into the country the literary ideas of France. No doubt the various details in the *Poema de mio Cid* which seem to have a French origin, the desire to commit to writing the hitherto oral compositions of the *joglares*, and the practice of connecting the popular epics with certain monastic houses came into Spain this way. And in their baggage the French visitors must have introduced copies of the literary works in vogue at the time, and these seem to have been read and to have inspired native emulation.

The poets who were thus inspired seem to have all been monks, and their work is limited to the treatment of religious themes or subjects on which French literature had set the seal of learning. The work of the native *joglar* was scorned, except when it suited the purpose of a monastery to use one of their epics for the purpose of advertisement, and the conventual monopoly of the art of writing has allowed the fresh and national popular compositions to be lost, but has preserved a number of jejune and barren imitations from an exotic source. The movement was important, however, for it set on foot a 'learned' school of literature which gradually outgrew the stage of imitation and, assuming more and more national characteristics, lasted for two centuries, persisting side by side with the popular school.

Only two poems which can be classed as lyrics have been preserved from the 12th century. As they were found in

the same manuscript and appear to be signed by a certain Lope de Moros, whose name occurs in the last verse of the second piece, they may possibly have had a common authorship by de Moros. The first is a mere trifle and is named *Los desnuestos del agua y el vino*. It is based on the French *Dispute du vin et de l'iaue*, and is of historical value only. The second is known as *La razón de amor* and may be an imitation of a French *ballade*. Both poems are anonymous and are written in an early form of *redondilla*, with lines of eight syllable riming in couplets. *La razón de amor* is not without some merit, as the following lines will show :

En el mes d'abril despues yantar
estaua so un olivar.
Entre çimas d'un mançanar
un vaso de plata vi estar ;
pleno era d'un claro uino
que era uermeio e fino ;
cubierto era de tal mesura
no lo tocas' la calentura.
Una duena lo y eua puesto,
que era senora del uerto,
que quan su amigo uiniese,
d'aquel uino a beuer le diesse.

Narrative Poetry.—Most of the work of the school of imitation from the French consists of narrative verse. It comprises two long poems and two shorter pieces, all anonymous and composed before 1200. *La disputa del alma y del cuerpo* is a close imitation of a well known mediæval French poem, *Le Débat du Corps et de l'Âme*, and deals with one of those theologico-philosophical subjects so dear to the Middle Ages. *Los tres reys d'orient* is another slight piece which, as its name suggests, gives an account of our Lord's infancy and the visit of the Magi. It contains a number of Provençal forms which betray its origin, but no definite source has been discovered.

The other two pieces are longer. *La vida de Santa María Egipcíaca* recounts the life-story of a saint who, though once popular, is now forgotten. It is an imitation of *La*

Vie de Sainte Marie l'Egyptienne, a work attributed to Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, and is written in light octosyllabic lines resembling the metre of the original. The last poem of this class is known as *El libro de Apolonio* and deals with a popular medieval theme which is best known in modern times through Shakspeare's treatment of it in *Pericles of Tyre*. Its French original, which itself drew the story from the medieval Latin collection of tales known as the *Gesta Romanorum*, has been lost, but there is no doubt that the Spanish poem is an imitation. It is tedious and carries to an extreme the generally medieval, but more particularly Spanish, vice of moralising. Historically, however, it has the importance of having introduced a form of verse, the *cuaderna vía*, which at once became fashionable and remained for two centuries the principal, if not the only, metrical form used for narrative verse.

The Drama.—One other piece completes the tale of poems written in imitation of French works. This is a dramatic sketch whose sole interest lies in its being the first effort of the Spanish drama. In Spain, as in England and France, the drama had a religious origin. Probably as early as the 10th century it was the custom to act certain scenes of Sacred History, usually at Easter and at Christmas, for the instruction of the laity. These theatrical representations, beginning as tableaux, became dumb shows later, and afterwards were made more interesting by the introduction of short dialogues and songs. The performances took place within the church itself or within its precincts and were probably much the same as the *pesebres* which may still be seen in any Spanish village at Christmas. Gradually, the dialogue was worked up into regular dramatic form, and thus the Spanish drama was born. Only one representative survives, *El auto de los reyes magos*, a fragment of 147 lines which belongs linguistically to the 11th century. As its name shows, it deals with the visit of the Magi to the infant Christ and it was designed for

acting on Twelfth Night. Here, as in the poems, French influence is seen, for the piece is proved, by the inclusion in the Castilian version of two lines of Vergil which had crept into the original, to be a translation of a Franco-Orleanese ritual.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

For this and the four subsequent chapters Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature*, though now out of print, is still indispensable. *La Historia de la Literatura Española*, by J. Hurtado, J. de la Serna, and A. G. Palencia, is useful for reference to facts. The political setting may be read in Sedgwick's *History of Spain* and in E. S. Bouchier's *Spain under the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1914). For an outline history of the language, see *Manual de Gramática histórica española*, by R. Menéndez Pidal (Madrid, 1918). For a full treatment of the heroic legend, the best works are W. P. Ker's *Epic and Romance* (London, 1908) and Joseph Bédier's *Les Légendes épiques* (Paris, 1910). Special treatment of Spanish popular poetry will be found in the Prologues of Menéndez y Pelayo's *Antología de Poetas líricos españoles*, vol. i. A short comprehensive account of the geography of the Peninsula will be found in *A Geography of Western Europe*, edited by E. D. Laborde (London, 1928).

The best texts are to be found in Menéndez y Pelayo's *Antología* and in *Poetas castellanos anteriores al siglo XV* by Tomás Antonio Sánchez in the *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, tomo lvii (Madrid, 1911). The best edition of *El poema de mio Cid* is that of R. Menéndez Pidal (Madrid, 1913).

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY PERIOD

(1200–1400)

Narrative Poems.—With the 13th century the literary historian begins to stand on firmer ground. He is no longer forced to deduce the existence of poems, for the works themselves survive; and he even knows the names of authors and, in the majority of cases, something of their lives. This new turn of affairs was due to the different status of literature, which no longer remained merely the plaything of the masses, but became the diversion of the rich and learned. Even in the darkest period of the Middle Ages churchmen had penned liturgies and moral treatises; but their use of Latin as the instrument of expression deprived vernacular literature of their work. Now, however, the development of the Romance language into a fit literary medium enabled those whose skill in Latin was small to compose works based on the old didactic themes, but moulded in a new form. The authors were clergymen or men of rank and were conscious of their art. Hence, rules were formulated, and the first school of Spanish poetry came into being. Its brief manifesto is contained in the *Libro de Alejandro* :

Mester trago fremoso, no es de juglaría ;
mester es sen pecado, ca es de clerecía,
fablar curso rimado per la cuaderna vía
per sílabas contadas, ca es gran maestría.

The new *mester de clerecía* is here carefully distinguished from the old *mester de juglaría*. Its *mester*, or art, was that of the clergy or ‘learned’ folk and aimed at the use of rime and at preserving a regular number of syllables to the

line. Its sole metrical form was the *cuaderna vía*, a four-lined stanza in which each line contained fourteen syllables and a medial cæsure, the whole being bound together by a single consonantal rime. The form was first used, as has been said above, in the *Libro de Apolonio* and was very different from the popular narrative verse with its assonance and irregular number of syllables. There was a difference in subject, too. Instead of the deeds of heroes sung by the *joglars*, the new school recounted the lives of saints or treated of theology or morals. Proverbs, apologues, sermons, and other didactic matter were all proper to it, and in the later stages social criticism and satire were added. The descendant of the early imitations of French poems, it drew its subjects at first from French literature, but afterwards it threw off this influence and became entirely national.

The first poet of the *mester de clerecía* was GONZALO DE BERCIO, who also has the honour of being the first Castilian poet to be known by name. Born about 1180, he was educated in the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla, where he became a secular priest. The records of the monastery show him to have been ordained deacon in 1220 and priest in 1237. As he refers to himself in one of his poems as being old, it is thought that he lived on to about the middle of the century. His works amount to some 13,000 lines and comprise poems on the Blessed Virgin (*Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, *Duelo de la Virgen*, *Loores de Santa María*), lives of saints (*Santo Domingo de Silos*, *San Millán*, *Santa Oria*), and other religious themes (*El sacrificio de la Misa*, *El martirio de San Lorenzo*, *Los signos que aparecerán antes del Juicio*), including perhaps three hymns.

His most important work is *Los milagros de Nuestra Señora*, a long poem consisting of an introduction and twenty-five fyttes. Each fytte relates a miracle performed by our Lady in aid of some unfortunate votary. Hence, the poem is in effect a collection of tales. The

narrative is direct and surprisingly terse for the Middle Ages, and its imagery is taken from the simple life of the peasants ; but on the whole there is little poetic inspiration in it. The subjects are drawn from the same source—probably a French one—as that used by Gautier de Coincy in his *Miracles de la Sainte Vierge*, but the Spanish poem, of which the following lines from the introduction will give some idea, is better than its French cousin :

El prado que vos digo avie otra bondat :
 Por calor nin por frio non perdíe su beldat ;
 Siempre estaba verde en su entegredat,
 Non perdíe la verdura por nulla tempestat.
 Manamano que fuy en tierra acostado,
 Do todo el laçerio fui luego folgado :
 Oblidé toda cuita, el laçerio passado.
 Qui alli se morasse serie bien venturado !

Los omnes e las aves quantas acaçien
 Levaban de las flores quantas levar querien :
 Mas mengua en el prado ninguna non façien :
 Por una que levaban, tres e quatro naçien.
 Semeia esti prado egual de paraíso,
 En qui Dios tan grant graçia, tan grant bendiçion miso ;
 El que crió tal cosa, maestro fue anviso.
 Omne que hi morasse nunca perdríe el viso.

El fructo de los arbores era dulz e sabrido.
 Si don Adam oviesse de tal fructo comido,
 De tan mala manera non serie deçebido,
 Nin tomarien tal danno Eva nin so marido. (lines 41-60)

A measure of poetic fancy is not wanting in the description of this dream garden, but there is a strain of realism that precludes anything fantastic. The garden is just such an one as the ordinary man might have wished for, one that was always green, always refreshing, and always fruitful : a real paradise in fact, and one in which even Adam would have been withheld from sin.

Berceo's immediate disciple was the *beneficiado* of Úbeda, who in *La vida de San Ildefonso* produced a tedious and prosaic account of the famous bishop of Toledo. The *Poema de Yuçuf*, however, represents a step forward in the development of the *mester de clerecía*, since its theme is

not the life of a Christian saint, but a kindred subject. A *morisco*, or Moor dwelling in lands recovered by the Christians, composed a poem on the story of Joseph in Egypt. The version is that of the Koran, and the tone of the poem is Moorish. Its most interesting feature is the use of Arabic script for the Castilian in which it is written. Literature of this type is known as *aljamiada* or *de aljamía*. The next step in the development of the *mester de clerecía* was the adoption of a subject unconnected with theology, but regarded as fit for the attention of the learned because of its use in French literature. *El libro de Alejandro*, an imitation of the *Alexandreis* of Gautier de Chatillon, has as its main theme the deeds of Alexander the Great, but contains much subsidiary matter, such as an account of the siege of Troy and a description of a descent to Hades. There is a great deal of moralising, an attack on contemporary manners, and an apologue dealing with the sins of greed and envy. Except in some of the descriptive passages, the poem is mediævally dull. The transition from Alexander to a national hero was an easy one, and between 1250 and 1270 a poem was composed on the deeds of Fernán González, the celebrated founder of the independence of Castile. The *Poema de Fernán González* bears the same relation to San Pedro de Arlanza as the *Poema de mio Cid* bears to San Pedro de Cardeña.

The next poet to assume the mantle of Berceo was JUAN Ruíz, archpriest of Hita. The greatest of the early Castilian poets, little is known of him beyond what can be gathered from the autobiographical passages of his work. He seems to have been born at Alcalá de Henares about 1283 and to have spent his life in the district of Madrid. He was imprisoned, for what cause we know not, by the archbishop of Toledo, and presumably this put an end to his archpriesthood. At any rate, he no longer held the office in 1351. He died somewhere about the middle of the century. According to his own description, he was broad shouldered and muscular and had a thick hairy neck. His hair was

black and his face was a combination of heavy lips, long nose and ears, with a pair of small, bright eyes gazing humorously from under dense eyebrows. Much may be learnt about his character from his work, which shows him to have been a lover of wine and women, but a shrewd observer and a humorous, though sharp-tongued, critic of manners.

His only known work is a poem of 1728 stanzas in the *cuaderna vía* and is entitled *El libro de buen amor*. It is a narrative poem on whose main theme of a journey undertaken by the poet is hung much humorous description of persons of various kinds, chiefly of the lower classes. Hence, Ticknor has compared the archpriest with Chaucer. But the Spaniard had not the breadth of vision or the depth of learning and experience of life of the Englishman. The autobiographical part of the work is undoubtedly one of the early shoots of the later rogue story. Added to it are a number of parables in the Eastern manner, a paraphrase of Ovid's *Ars Amoris* and another of the old Latin play *de Vetula*, a burlesque poem, two long allegories, some satires, lyrics, and digressions on moral subjects. These elements are not original, but come from very varied sources. Juan Ruíz, however, was no more a mere imitator than Shakspeare was, and whatever he touched, he made it his own and transposed it in a brilliant manner to suit his own purposes. The literary device, afterwards used by Boccaccio and Chaucer, of hanging a number of tales on a central theme, was of Eastern origin. English readers will remember its occurrence in the *Arabian Nights*.

To the modern mind the portions of *El libro de buen amor* which deal with morals are insufferably dull, but Juan Ruíz realised the danger of large doses of didactic matter and he relieved them by sandwiching them in between lighter and less serious passages. How forceful and vivid was his narrative style will be seen from the following :

Estude en esa cibdat, e espendí mi cabdal,
Non fallé pozo dulce nin fuente perenal,

Desque vi que la mi bolsa que se paraba mal,
Dije : ' Mi casilla e mi fogar, cient sueldos val.'

Torné para mi casa luego al tercer día,
Mas non vine por Lozoya, que joyas non traía ;
Coidé tomar el puerto que es de la Fuentfria,
Erré todo el camino, como quien lo non sabía.

Por el pinar ayuso fallé una vaquera,
Que guardaba sus vacas en aquesa ribera ;
' Homíllome ', dije yo, ' serrana fallagucra,
Morarme he con vusco, o mostradme la carrera '.

' Seméjame ', diz, ' sandio, que así te convidas ;
Non te llegues a mí, ante te lo comidas ;
Sinon, yo te faré que mi cayada midas,
Si en lleno te cojo, bien tarde la olvidas '.

Como dice la fabla, del que de mal nos quita,
Escarba la gallina e falla su pepita ;
Probéme de llegar a la chata maldita :
Dióme con la cayada en la oreja fita.

Derribóme la cuesta ayuso, e caí estordido ;
Allí probé que era mal golpe el del oído :
' ¡ Confonda Dios ', dije yo, ' cigüeña en el ejido,
Que de tal guisa coge cigoníños en nido ! ' (st. 973-978)

The management of the fables and their use as illustrations of the narrative will be seen in the following story of the dog and its reflection :

Por la cobdicia pierde el home el bien que tiene.
Coida haber más mucho de cuanto le conviene,
Non ha lo que cobdicia, lo suyo non mantiene,
Lo que conteció al perro, a estos tal les viene.

*Ensiemplo del alano que llevaba
la pieza de carne en la boca*

Alano carnícero en un río andaba,
Una pieza de carne en la boca pasaba,
Con la sombra del agua dos tantol semejaba,
Codicíola abarcar, cayósele la que levaba.

Por la sombra mentirosa e por su coidar vano,
La carne que tenía perdióla el alano.
Non hobo lo que quiso, nol fué cobdiciar sano,
Coidó ganar, e perdió lo que tenía en su mano.

Cada día contece al cobdicioso atal,
Coida ganar contigo, e pierde su cabdal.
De aquesta raíz mala nace todo el mal :
Es la mala cobdicia pecado mortal. (st. 225-229)

The lyrical portions of the poem must be left over till the next section, where they will be dealt with in their proper place.

The *mester de clerecía* was now adopted by a purely didactic writer, whose name is unknown, but who produced a short collection of maxims which professed to be *Proverbios en rima del sabio Salomón, rey de Israel*. More important is the work of the Jewish Rabbi Sem Tob, who between 1350 and 1369 dedicated to Pedro el Cruel his *Proverbios morales*. These take the form of a poem of 686 stanzas written, not in the *cuaderna vía*, but in a four-lined stanza of seven-syllabled lines riming alternately. Here is seen perhaps the first sign of the disuse of the *cuaderna vía* in the more ambitious forms of poetry. The following specimen will give an idea of the form as well as of the matter of Sem Tob's work :

- | | |
|--|---|
| 57. Lo que uno denuesta
Veo otro loarlo ;
Lo que éste apuesta
Aquel otro afearlo. | 59. Farían dos amigos
Çinta de un anillo
En que dos enemigos
No meterían un dedillo. |
| 58. El que arroja la lança
Paresçele bagarosa ;
Pero al que alcança
A la por presurosa. | 60. En lo que Lope gana
Pelayo enpobrese ;
Con lo que Sancho sana
Domingo adoleçe. |

The style of the *Proverbios* is concise (see, for instance, the last two lines of stanza 57), and the matter is wise rather than poetic. Ruíz's *Libro de buen amor* contained in its didactic parts a good many maxims and aphorisms, and this use of sententious sayings has remained a characteristic of Spanish literature, reflecting one of the traits of the people. But in the *Proverbios de Salomón* and in the poem of Sem Tob the collection of popular saws, which was destined to become a definite *genre* in Spain, made its appearance for the first time.

We now come to the last of the poets of the *mester de clerecía*. This was Pedro López de Ayala, Grand Chancellor of Castile, whose life, as Fitzmaurice-Kelly has put it, was

a real romance of feudalism. Born in 1332 of noble parentage, he entered the household of Pedro el Cruel in 1353 and quickly received promotion. In the revolts against don Pedro, he supported that monarch until 1366, when it became apparent that his interests lay on the side of the usurper don Enrique de Trastámara. He was, however, captured by the Black Prince's troops at the battle of Nájera, but did not remain long in captivity. On the assassination of don Pedro in 1369, Ayala was appointed to high posts by don Enrique, and the royal favours continued under that prince's successors. At the battle of Aljubarrota, in which the Portuguese finally checked Castilian aggression, Ayala was taken prisoner and remained for fifteen months imprisoned in an iron cage in the castle of Oviedes. He was ransomed in 1387 and on his return to Spain became a member of the Council which governed the kingdom during the minority of don Enrique III. In 1398, he was appointed Chancellor, an office which he held until his death in 1407.

During his captivity in Portugal from 1385 to 1387, Ayala whiled away his time by writing a poem known as *El rimado de palacio*. It is a direct descendant of Ruíz's poem, being a collection of discourses in the *cuaderna vía*, with a number of lighter lyrical pieces interposed. Analysis reveals four parts, of which the first is religious, treating of the doctrine of the Trinity and the essentials of Christianity, together with such medieval themes as the seven deadly sins. Probably this part was written during the author's captivity, for it not only contains references to his state, but is pervaded by a pessimistic and despondent tone not found in the rest of the poem. The second part, from which the poem takes its name, is political and deals with matters of government and other subjects of interest at court. Written in a grave and didactic style, it reflects the statesmanship of the author and proves him to have had no little poetic feeling, as the following quotation will show:

270. Todas estas riquezas son niebla e rocío,
 las onrras e orgullos, e aqueste loco brio,
 échase ome sano e amanesce frio,
 ca nuestra vidra corre como agua de río.
275. Sienpre deue el consegero desir al rey verdat,
 e sienpre lo inclinar a faser piedat,
 e todo tienpo lo guarde, non faga crueldat,
 ca clemencia es en reyes muy loada bondat.
277. Segunt dise Valerio en el su libro mayor,
 la virtud que en los reyes es mas noble e mejor,
 es perdonar al caydo toda culpa e error :
 desto muchos enxienplos mostró nuestro Sennor.
278. Amar a quien te ama, non es de agradescer ;
 mas sy te algo yerra e te fue fallestcer,
 tu le deues perdonar e a Dios en gracia auer,
 que te da tienpo e logar, que asy lo puedas fer.

The third part consists of a number of lyrics, usually not in *cuaderna vía*. This part will be treated in the following section. The fourth part is a moral treatise and comprises about half the poem. In it is expressed the wisdom of an intelligent man of the world whose wide experience has placed him in touch with the leaders of society.

The *Rimado del palacio* invites comparison with the *Libro de buen amor*. Their likenesses are great, as may be gathered from what has already been said. Their differences depend on two fundamental dissimilarities in the authors. Juan Ruíz was a man of the people, lived among the people, and shared their pleasures, vices, and limited outlook. Ayala, on the other hand, sprang from one of the noblest families of Castile and passed his life in the atmosphere of good breeding and refinement. This difference in station and refinement is reflected by the poems in the same way as the *Knight's Tale* of Chaucer was designed to reflect its supposed narrator's refinement in contrast with the coarseness and vulgar wit of the wife of Bath. Secondly, Ayala had no sense of humour. This is shown by the simple way in which he states his desertion of don Pedro and explains it as convenient to his personal interests. Juan Ruíz, on the contrary, had a keen sense of

humour which made him esteem even vice, provided it was neither ridiculous nor dull.

With Ayala the *mester de clerecía* ends, unless the tedious paraphrase of Innocent III's *de Contemptu Mundi*, known as *El libro de miseria de homne*, is regarded as belonging to it. The verse used in the poem is no longer the pure *cuaderna vía*, but a variant having in imitation of the popular metre sixteen syllables to the line. Attacked on the one hand by the popular measures of the *joglares* and on the other by the courtly lyrical forms of the *trobadores*, the heavy *cuaderna vía* was destined to pass away as soon as poetic composition became fashionable among the upper classes. Even in Ruíz's and Ayala's work signs of its decay are evident in the employment of other measures for their lyrics, and Sem Tob definitely rejected it. But with the end of the 14th century and the approach of the Renaissance, the last traces of the *mester de clerecía* and its verse forms disappeared for ever.

The Lyric.—The Spanish lyric in its earliest form consisted of popular songs used on special occasions. Thus, there were the *canciones de mayo* alluded to in the *Libro de Alejandro* and other early poems, but of which no specimen remains. More fortunate, however, were the *cantares de vela*, for an example survives embedded in Berceo's *Duelo de la Virgen*. The origin of the type is perfectly clear, for its antecedents were watch-songs composed in Vulgar Latin. Berceo's poem is worthy of attention, for it is the earliest national lyric extant in Castilian. It has a vigour and swing absent from the conventional *Razón de amor*, and the triple *eya velar* which precludes the song reminds one of the glorious triple Alleluias which introduce some of the English hymns in the Ancient and Modern collection.

¡ Eya velar ! ¡ eya velar ! ¡ eya velar !

Velat, alíama de los judíos,

¡ eya velar !

Que non vos furten el Fijo de Dios,

¡ eya velar !

Ca furtarvoslo querran—
¡ eya velar !—
Andres e Peidro et Johan :
¡ eya velar !
etc.

Other forms, whose existence is indicated by later songs, are connected with the harvest, Christmas, midsummer, or some other festival. Most important are the various types of love-songs. These fall into two chief classes, the *cantigas de ledino* and the *cantigas de amigo*. Both deal as a rule with walks in the country, but in the former a lover reproaches his mistress for her cruelty or infidelity. It is supposed to get its name from *leda* (= *alegre*) which often occurs in the refrain. Similarly, the *cantiga de amigo* took its name from the recurrence of *amigo*. In it a love-smitten maiden usually complained of her parents' harshness and declared her intention of running away on a pilgrimage. Both classes were dance songs, and they sometimes abandoned the conventional subjects and spoke of the dance itself or even of hunting or the sea. A special form was known as the *guayado*, because of the recurrence of the phrase *¡ guay amor !*

For some unknown reason lyrical poetry developed more freely in Galicia than in Castile, and there is some cause for thinking that the Gallego-Portuguese dialect came at one time to be regarded as the proper vehicle for such poems. As far as can be seen, the Castilian lyrics were not a whit inferior to the Galician, though Menéndez Pidal has discovered some differences in technique. The Gallego-Portuguese form was more lyrical and consisted of stanzas more or less parallel in sense and running on into a refrain. The Castilian, on the other hand, was more narrative and began with a thematic short verse whose sense was expanded in the subsequent stanzas. During the early part of the 13th century, the Gallego-Portuguese poetry came into contact with the more refined literature of Provence and was influenced by it to a very large degree.

As the influence of Provençal poetry plays an important part in Spanish literature for some three hundred years, it seems advisable to pause for a moment to give an account of that poetry.

As early as the 10th century favourable geographical and political circumstances had given rise to a little state in the south of France more or less on the same strip of territory as had been occupied by the ancient Roman province of Gallia Narbonensis. Here in a quiet back-water of the turbid stream of European politics, the people had preserved a good deal of the old Roman civilisation and, freed from the troublous times around them, had devoted themselves to the cultivation of poetry. It had become the fashion for gentlemen to aim at poetic accomplishment as well as at distinction in arms, and a knight was expected to be able to compose a ballad in praise of his lady-love as well as to defend her honour with the sword. A delicate and refined literature of lyrical verse came therefore into existence. In it both ideas and expression were highly conventional, and the main object of skill was to make good use of the complicated types of metrical forms.

Geographical conditions brought Provence into close connexion with Cataluña, and the latter could not but be influenced by its neighbour. As early as the 12th century we find a no less distinguished person than Alfonso II, who reigned in Aragon from 1162-96, addressing some *coblas*, or stanzas, to his lady, and there were, of course, many others besides the royal *trobador* who imitated Provençal verse. Between 1209 and 1229, however, the cultured society of Provence was rudely exterminated as a result of the Albigensian crusade, and the very fountain head of its literature was thus cut off. Numbers of poets fled for refuge to the courts of Pedro II and Jaime el Batallador (1213-76), and there continued to practise the art of *Gay Saber*, as they called their system of lyrical composition. By the end of the 13th century the upper classes in Aragon were completely saturated with the ideas thus introduced

and perfectly familiar with the accompanying lyrical forms. So readily had the exotic system been absorbed indeed, that in 1324 Ramón Vidal de Besalú, a Catalan gentleman, won the first prize at the poetic contest held that year in Toulouse. More than that, the *Gay Saber* was officially introduced into Aragon by Juan I in 1390. Poetic contests, known as floral games, were held annually at Barcelona and afterwards at Tortosa, and the number of Catalan poets of the Provençal type grew very large. A *cancionero*, or anthology, collected about 1460 includes works by the most considerable authors, of whom Jaime March (c. 1370) and Ausias March (1460) were the best. Just too late for inclusion in the *cancionero* was Jaime Roig, who died in 1478. The school continued for some time after this, but it gradually disappeared before the advance of Castilian and by 1550 it was practically gone.

The absence of Castilian lyrics of the first part of the 13th century does not permit the immediate effect of the Provençal-Catalan influence on Castilian to be estimated with any approach to accuracy ; but the three *cancioneros* of Gallego-Portuguese poetry that survive are plain evidence of profound influence. Generally speaking, the modifications involved were the introduction of poetry as a fashionable art among the upper classes ; the use of a more impersonal tone, of vaguer and more abstract ideas, and of a vast number of poetic commonplaces ; and the establishment of new poetic forms. Two forms especially seem to have become popular, viz. the *vagueira* and the *serventesio*. The former related an encounter between a traveller, usually the poet himself, and a country maiden pasturing cows in the high valleys of the sierras. In Gallego-Portuguese it came to be known as a *villanesca* or *villana*. The *serventesio* dealt with political or moral subjects and was almost always satirical. In Gallego-Portuguese it assumed several forms, each having a different name, and some of them being a comic or burlesque treatment of the subject. The genuine satire was termed a

cantiga de escarnio or *cantiga de maldecir*, while the less serious pieces were *cantigas de joguete certeyro*, *cantigas de risuelha*, or *cantigas de burlas*. The Gallego-Portuguese poems are notably more vulgar in conception, cruder in treatment, and rougher in composition than their Provençal originals.

The influence of Provence seems at first to have reached Castilian poetry through the medium of Gallego-Portuguese. A series of 420 *Cantigas a la Virgen* have been preserved, in which that influence first appears in the works of a Castilian writer. The dialect used, however, is not Castilian, but Galician. The *Cantigas* have until recently been universally attributed to Alfonso el Sabio, who is supposed to have intended them to be sung perpetually in the church of Santa María de Murcia, where he wished to be buried. Of late Alfonso's authorship has been challenged, but on insufficient evidence. Assuming that he did write the poems, the fact that a Castilian king, who wrote other works in his own tongue, should have composed lyrics in another dialect and intend them to be sung in the district of yet a third speech is certainly a literary anomaly and somewhat of a puzzle. Yet Alfonso is by no means the only Castilian poet who used the Gallego-Portuguese dialect, and one may suppose that his reasons for using it were its position as the usual vehicle for lyric poetry and the greater facility it gave for the imitation of Gallego-Portuguese forms.

The *Cantigas* are in a variety of metres and treat their subject in divers ways. Their central theme is the Blessed Virgin, but while most of them are narrative and relate miracles after the manner of Berceo's *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, others are purely lyrical expressions of praise and thanksgiving. Many of the ideas are taken from the *Speculum historiale*, a vast collection of semi-religious tales compiled by Vincent de Beauvais. The poems undoubtedly belong to the Gallego-Portuguese school, yet there are traces of other influence in them. Alfonso's

Alfonso also composed in Castilian a few lyrics like *Señora, por amor de Dios*, and he is therefore next in succession to Berceo in the list of known poets who developed the lighter forms of verse. His immediate successor was the Archpriest of Hita. As was said above, *El libro de buen amor* is interspersed with lyrics of various form and subject. Some of them are *Loores*, *Gozos*, or *Duelos de Santa María* and are direct descendants of Alfonso's *Cantigas*. The following is a good example :

Etc.

The thematic short stanza at the beginning is characteristic of the Castilian lyric and is in a different metre from the rest of the poem. It is octosyllabic and rimes *a, b, b, a*. The stanzas in the body of the poem are usually arranged in six lines of six syllables each, riming *a, a, b, a, a, b*, but to save space they have been rearranged as above.

Of Ruíz's profane lyrics, the following is typical of the *cantica de serrana* or *serranilla*, which is the Castilian form of the Gallego-Portuguese *villanesca* :

Cerca la Tablada,
la sierra pasada,
fallem' con Aldara
a la madrugada.

Encima del puerto
coydé ser muerto
de nieve e de frio
e dese rosio
e de grand elada.

A la decida
di una corrida
fallé una serrana
fermosa, lozana,
e bien colorada.

Dixe yo a ella :
' Homíllome, bella ' .
Dis : ' Tu que bien corres,
aquí non te engorres,
anda tu jornada ' .

The thematic stanza again appears. It has four monorimed lines, while the stanzas that follow have five lines each, riming *a, a, b, b, a*. The conventionality of the subject will be seen by comparing this poem with the narrative passage quoted on page 21. The occurrence of the greeting ' homíllome ' in both pieces will be noticed as a poetic commonplace.

Exigencies of space forbid further quotation, but Ruíz also composed *villanesecas* in the Gallego-Portuguese manner, and he gives an example of the *cantigas de burlas*, which, as has been said, was the descendant of the Provençal *serventesio*. Ruíz calls the poem a *troba cazurra* and in it he gives a thematic couplet and ends every stanza with a short line. Some of the pieces are in *cuaderna vía*, even some of the *cantigas* ; though as a variant one or two have a short thematic stanza and an extra half-line riming with the thematic stanza at the end of each verse. Two lyrics in

plain *cuaderna vía* deserve mention, *La propiedad que el dinero ha* and *Las propiedades que las dueñas chicas han*. They are essays in verse and deal with the subject in a light and humorous vein. At a later period the name *dictado* or *decir* was given to such compositions.

Finally, there are two short lyrics coupled together under the title of *Como los escolares demandan por Dios*. The second, as being the shorter, may be quoted :

Señores, vos dat a nos
escolares pobres dos.

El Señor de parayso,
Christos, tanto que nos quiso
que por nos muerte priso,
mataron lo judios.

Murio nuestro Señor
por ser nuestro saluador.
Dadnos por el su amor,
si el salue a todos nos.

Acordat vos de su estoria :
dad por Dios en su memoria.
Sy el vos de la su gloria :
dad lymosna por Dios.

Agora en quanto byuierdes,
por su amor sienpre dedes
e con esto escaparedes
del infierno e de su tos.

Here again is seen the thematic half-stanza with which the last line of each succeeding verse rimes. This form has been compared by Julián Ribera with certain Arabic poems in the Andalusian *cancionero* of Abencuzman and has been seen to be similar in form to the type of lyric known as the *zéjel*. Hence Ribera concludes that Ruíz was influenced by the Moorish poems, not directly, but through Gallego-Portuguese originals. Several of the Archpriest's other poems show the same form, whose Andalusian provenance, nevertheless, seems far from proven. It is equally possible for the *zéjel* of the Spanish Moors to have been imitated from the Christian literature, especially as

the form is not known elsewhere in Arabic, but is very similar to types which come from Provence.

Although comparatively few poems have survived from this period, it must not be thought that only a few were composed. The influence of Provence had brought the *arte de trobar* into fashion among the upper classes in Spain, and, encouraged by Alfonso el Sabio and Jaime el Batalador, it had indeed taken possession of the nobility. The very nature of the poems, slight in themselves and often written for an occasion, prevented the majority from surviving, and no doubt we owe the preservation of the *Cantigas* and the lyrics of Ruíz to the fact that they belong to ambitious works which were thought worthy of being written down and kept. Perhaps Alfonso's rank also helped to save his *Cantigas*, for we find a single poem by his grandson, Alfonso XI, surviving amid the general disappearance. The first stanza of this poem is worth quoting, since it exemplifies a poetic form not yet illustrated :

En un tiempo cogí flores
del muy noble paraíso,
cuitado de mis amores
e d'el su fremoso riso !
e siempre vivo en dolor
e ya lo non puedo sofrir,
mais me valera la muerte
que en el mundo vivir.

Yo con cuidado d'amores
vol'o vengo ora dizer,
que ha d'aquesta mi senhora
que muicho desejo aver.

The subject is a reproach addressed by the poet to his lady for her coldness. There is no thematic stanza, but an *estribillo*, or refrain, recurs after each strophe in the Gallego-Portuguese as distinct from the Castilian manner. The lines are octosyllabic and the rime-scheme is complicated. The failure of three of the lines to join in the rime gives us the first trace of blank verse in Spanish.

The next great lyric poet after Ruíz was Pedro López de Ayala. His *Rimado de palacio*, as has been said before

resembles the *Libro de buen amor* in containing a number of lyrics. In subject these are not unlike those of Ruíz. In place of the *cantigas de serrana* of the earlier poet, there are *cantares* on more serious themes; the *Loores*, *Gozos*, and *Duelos* are replaced by *Cantares a la Virgen*; while the contemplative lyrics like *Las propiedades que el dinero ha* are represented by *dictados*. In treatment there is much difference. Ruíz is full of coarse wit and humour expressed with the vigour of the lower classes, while Ayala is more refined, more prosaic perhaps, but loftier in sentiment, and he obviously writes for an audience of the upper classes.

In Ayala's work four main developments are noticeable. Ruíz's favourite type—that attributed by Ribera to the influence of the *zéjel*—occurs very rarely and only in modified shape, and the variety is greater. In the *cantares* the commonest form is one in which a half-stanza begins the poem and is repeated after each strophe as a refrain, thus showing a fusion of the Castilian and the Gallego-Portuguese systems.

Sennora, estrella lusiente,
que a todo el mundo guia,
guia a este tu siruiente
que su alma en ti fia.

A canela bien oliente
eres sennora conparada,
de la tierra del oriente
es olor muy apreçada.
A ti fas clamor la gente
en sus cuytas todavia,
quien por pecador se siente
clamando Santa Maria.

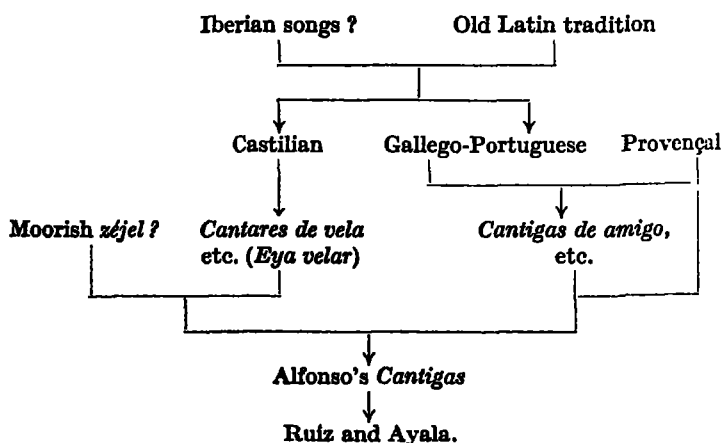
Sennora, estrella lusiente,
que a todo el mundo guia,
guia a este tu siruiente
que su alma en ti fia.

Two more stanzas complete the poem. The lines are octosyllabic in this poem, but in others the number of syllables varies. Sometimes the refrain contains fewer syllables than the stanzas themselves. The metre of the *dictados* is as a rule a development of the *cuaderna vía*,

having six lines of fourteen syllables in which a second rime is introduced in lines 4 and 6. One such poem, called *Una oración*, is preluded with a thematic couplet. The most important development, however, is seen in the *Deytado sobre el cisma de Occidente*, where the line of twelve syllables replaces that of fourteen, the number of lines is increased to eight, and the simple rime-scheme of the *cuaderna vía* abandoned for a more complicated system. The following stanza is a sample :

Oy sont veynte e çinco annos conplidos
 que, mal pecado, començo la çisma,
 e non veo los príncipes por ende sentidos,
 asi como deuen maguer que bautisma
 resçiben ende ; nin vale la çisma,
 nin otros bienes que avemos avidos :
 e asy se gasta la eglesia misma
 por la nuestra culpa dando gemidos.

A knowledge of the foregoing old Castilian verse-forms is necessary to the proper understanding of the developments which took place in the subsequent period, and accordingly the various types have been described at length. The section may be fitly concluded with a table showing the different forces which acted on the Spanish lyric up to the end of the 15th century.



Prose.—The difficulties which confront the literary historian in tracing the origin of the Spanish lyric do not apply to prose. Roman tradition was quite definitely the source. Among the independent Spaniards after the Moorish conquest monkish houses here and there kept national diaries very like our own Old English Chronicle in their bald entries. For centuries they were written in Latin, but in the 12th century some, like the *Anales toledanos*, began to be composed in Romance. Meanwhile, mozarabic scholars had preserved in the south a large measure of Roman literary tradition, and their learning was fostered by the Cordovan caliphate. As soon as San Fernando's conquest of Andalucía had restored these scholars to the Spanish nation, the northern and southern lines of development fused together to produce improved chronicles on the one hand and on the other various didactic works of an Eastern cast, but in Castilian. Writers like Lucas de Túy (d. 1249) and Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada composed in Latin historical works of a somewhat higher order than the early *cronicones*, while other authors began to test the Castilian instrument in works like *Las flores de filosofía*, a book of maxims, and *El libro de los doce sabios*, a treatise for the instruction of princes. Both works bear obvious marks of Moorish influence, while two others, *Bocados de oro* and *Poridad de poridades*, are direct imitations, and *El libro de los buenos proverbios* is a translation from the Arabic. These are all crude first attempts, but they prepare the way and indicated the three lines, the chronicle, the collection of Moorish tales, and the moral treatise, along which Castilian prose was to develop for two centuries.

In the middle of the 13th century the influence of that great nurse, if not father, of Spanish literature, Alfonso el Sabio, began to work. While his predecessor was yet alive, Alfonso set himself to codify the laws of Castile. His first attempt seems to have been the drafting of the charter granted by San Fernando to the newly won city

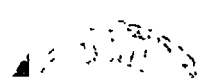
of Córdoba. The resulting document is known as the *Fuero Juzgo*. Its clauses were enacted in 1241, but the version due to Alfonso is slightly later. The prince next tried to reduce the chaos of local customs to some semblance of order and general plan. Three rough sketches, *El septenario*, *El espejo*, and *El fuero real* (1255), seem to have been made in the order given, and between 1256 and 1265 Alfonso at length drew up the famous code of *Las siete partidas*. The importance of this work can hardly be overestimated, forming as it does the basis of the legal system not only in Spain, but also throughout Spanish-America and in parts of the United States. The actual authorship is doubtful, though in all probability a committee of authors were responsible. Alfonso's directing mind, if not his hand, is plainly visible throughout, making this legal code not only a great digest, but also a literary work of primary historical importance. The ordinances included are not a bare statement of law : reasons for their necessity are given and discussions on their ethical character are frequent. Moreover, the extent of treatment goes beyond what is usual in a legal code, for morals are dealt with and even such questions as the education of princesses are touched upon. Were Alfonso's fame dependent on this work alone, it would be safe ; but, as it is, *Las siete partidas* claims for him a place among the world's great lawgivers.

No less important is this learned king as a patron and practitioner of science. At his court he assembled a body of men deep in the scientific lore of the time. Most of these were of Eastern origin or training, and through them Alfonso introduced into Europe the Science of the East, which at that time was far in advance of that of the West. This Eastern learning was given to the world in *Los libros de astronomía*, a work consisting of three parts : a catalogue of the stars, a treatise on the use of astronomical instruments, and a collection of astronomical tables. That much of the work has not yet been superseded indicates its real value.

A further activity imposed by Alfonso on his body of librarians and scientists was the translation of various foreign works. His nephew, don Juan Manuel, states in his *Libro de la caza* that Alfonso caused translations to be made of the Koran, the Mishna, the Talmud, and the Cabala, and it is generally believed that a version of the Bible was also made. These works are all lost, but two others remain: the *Lapidario* and *Calila e Dimna*. The former, translated from the Arabic in 1241, is of slight importance; but the latter had far-reaching effects. Originally a collection of Indian tales brought together about 550 A.D. by the physician of Chosroes I, king of Persia, and turned into Arabic about the year 750, it was translated into Spanish in 1251. Its Castilian title is really that of the first tale, which is also the longest and most interesting. The stories nearly all have animals as their characters and bear a kind of likeness to Kipling's *Jungle Books*.

The translation of *Calila e Dimna* led Alfonso's brother don Fadrique to turn into Spanish *El libro de los engaños de las mugeres*, a work also known to western Europe in another version as *Dolopathos*. Its importance lies in its introduction into Spain, and thus indirectly into Europe generally, of the Eastern device of presenting a collection of tales held together by the light framework of a main theme. We have already noticed its adoption in *El libro de buen amor*, and we shall see its popularity extended by don Juan Manuel. Boccaccio's *Decameron* and Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* finally naturalised the device in Europe.

The king's example further resulted in the production of another Eastern imitation, *Barlaam y Josafat*, a version of the story of Buddha in which the original is changed out of all recognition. More important was the composition of *El gran conquista de ultramar*, which, though largely a rehash of Eastern tradition, contains in the episode of the Caballero del Cisne the germs of the future romances of chivalry. For modern readers the chief interest in the



episode will lie in its being the source of Wagner's *Lohengrin*. A somewhat similar work, *El caballero Cifar*, by an anonymous author was another forerunner of the chivalresque novel.

We have not finished with Alfonso's contributions to literature, however. Early in his reign he conceived the idea of a history of Spain and setting his scholars to work he produced the *Grande e general estoria de España*, known shortly as the *Crónica general*. This chronicle consists of four parts, the first two of which deal with the history of the ancient world and were probably compiled by the committee of scholars. The third part describes the Moorish invasion and the Reconquest and is largely composed of matter drawn from the old epics. Part IV, which relates the events of the reigns immediately preceding Alfonso's, is more reliable as history and more interesting as literature. Certain parts of it have been thought by critics to bear the personal touch of the king's hand.

The *Grande e general estoria* set a fashion of chronicle writing. Besides a number of recastings of the *Estoria*, either as a whole, or in part to form works like the *Crónica de Castilla* and the *Crónica del Cid*, Jaime el Batallador, king of Aragon and Alfonso's friend, caused an account of his own reign to be written. Alfonso XI, who in more ways than one carried on the work of his grandfather, had the *Estoria* continued up to the beginning of his own reign in 1312. From his time onwards it became the custom to appoint official chroniclers to write up the events of the previous reign, and the practice lasted till the 16th century. A notable composition of the present period was that of Pedro López de Ayala, who has already been mentioned as the author of *El rimado de palacio*. The work deals with the reign of Pedro el Cruel and, though unofficial, is the principal source of information about the usurpation of don Enrique de Trastámara, the Black Prince's campaign which ended at Nájera, and the tragic death of the king. The writer played a leading part in most of the incidents which

he describes, and his stirring narrative is the high water mark of early Castilian prose.

The first disciple of Alfonso X in prose literature was don Juan Manuel, son of the *infante* don Pedro Manuel and consequently a nephew of the wise king himself. Born in 1282 and losing his father in childhood, he was brought up in his uncle's household and there imbibed the literary influence which was to react so powerfully later on. Unlike his uncle, however, he was a man of action. At the age of twelve he became a soldier and campaigned against the Moors. High posts fell to him in quick succession, until in 1320 he became regent for the minor Alfonso XI. The young king's dissatisfaction with his kinsman subsequently led to don Juan's rebellion, and civil war lasted for several years. In the end, don Juan was defeated, but was afterwards reconciled with the king and made commander-in-chief of the army operating against the Moors, a post which he held up to his death in 1349.

During this active life it is a wonder that don Juan found time for literary composition, yet he was the author of no fewer than fourteen works, some of which are of considerable length. Towards the end of his life he had them all transcribed on to a single MS. and added a preface giving a list of his books and his reasons for writing them. Yet, in spite of his precautions, five of his compositions have been lost. The most important of the survivors is *El conde Lucanor*, a collection of tales strung like beads on to supposed conversations of Count Lucanor and his henchman Patronio. The book comprises fifty *ensiemplos*, or illustrative tales, of which the following typical specimen will give a better idea than any amount of description.

Ensiemplo XXXIX

De lo que contesció a un omne con la golondrina
et con el pardal

Otra vez fablava el conde Lucanor con Patronio, su consejero, en esta guisa : ' Patronio, yo non puedo escusar en ninguna guisa de aver contienda con uno de dos vezinos que yo he, et contesce asi que

el mas mio vezino non es tan poderoso, et el que es mas poderoso non es tanto mio vezino. Et agora rruegovos que me consegedes lo que faga en esto '.—' Sennor conde, dixo Patronio, para que sepades para esto lo que vos mas cunple, seria bien que sopiesedes lo que contescio a un omne con un pardal et con una golondrina '.

E el conde le pregunta que commo fuera aquello :

' Sennor conde, dixo Patronio, un omne era flaco et tomava grand enojo con el rroydo de las voces de las aves et rrogo a su amigo quel' diese algun consejo, que non podia dormir por el rroydo quel' fazian los pardales et las golondrinas. Et aquel su amigo le dixo que de todos non le podia desenbargar, mas que el sabia un escanto con que lo desenbargaria del uno dellos : o del pardal o de la golondrina. Et aquel que estava flaco rrespondiol' que commoquier que la golondrina da mayores voces, pero porque la golondrina va et viene et el pardal mora sienpre en casa que antes se querria parar el rroydo de la golondrina maguer que es mayor porque va et viene que al del pardal que esta sienpre en casa '.

' Et vos, sennor conde, commoquier que aquel que mora mas lexos es mas poderoso, consejovos yo que ayades ante contienda con aquel que con el que vos esta mas acerca aunque non sea tan poderoso '.

E el conde tovo esto por buen consejo et fixolo asi et falloste ende bien.

Et porque don Johan se pago deste enxiemplo, fixolo poner en este libro et fizo estos viesos que dizen asi :—

Si en toda guisa contienda ovieres de aver,

Toma la de mas lexos aunque aya mas poder.

El conde Lucanor is of the utmost importance. It became widely known in Europe and was responsible for the spread of the device of threading tales together on a main theme. Moreover, it gave to Europe many of the tales, among them the story which Shakspeare afterwards used in the *Taming of the Shrew*. Its educational tendencies were widely imitated, notably in Macchiavelli's *Prince* and Guevara's *Dial of Princes*. But above all, it is important as the direct ancestor of that typically Spanish invention, the rogue story.

In addition to a couple of redactions of the *Grande e general estoria*, don Juan's minor works consist of a number of didactic treatises like *El tratado de Santa María*, *El libro del caballero y del escudero*, *El libro de los estados*, *Las maneras de amor*, and *El libro de los castigos*, the subjects

of which are more or less indicated by the titles. But he also set the fashion of writing technical books on sport, producing in the *Libro de la caza* and the *Libro de armas* the forerunners of the modern English Badminton series. The fashion was continued by don Alfonso XI in his *Libro de montería*, a treatise on hunting, and by Ayala in his *Libro de caza*.

The prose work of the period closes with Ayala. Besides the *Libro de caza* just mentioned and the chronicle described above, this author followed up Alfonso X's policy of translating important foreign works. In his choice of texts his interests are clearly visible. Livy's *History of Rome*, Guido Colonne's *Trojan War*, and Boccaccio's *de Casibus Principum* betray the statesman, while the *Ethics* of St. Gregory, the *de Summo Bono* of Isidorus, and the *Consolation* of Boethius no less indicate the philosopher. His versions show the freedom permitted by the Middle Ages and are adorned by his own lofty style which discloses Spanish prose in a stage of adolescence at a time when that of England and France was in its infancy.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

Further reading may be had in Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature* and in vol. i. of the *Antología* of Menéndez y Pelayo. For the texts, consult *Poetas castellanos anteriores al siglo xv*, by Tomás Antonio Sánchez, which is a complete collection of Spanish poetry from the *Poema de mio Cid* to Ayala, omitting Alfonso's *Cantigas*. The works of Juan Manuel will be found in vol. 51 of the *Bibl. de Aut. Esp.*

CHAPTER III

THE PERIOD OF PREPARATION (1400-1530)

THE 15th century was a period of preparation and experiment in Spanish literature. At its opening, prose and poetry followed narrow lines whether in the popular heroic compositions and folksongs or in the educated verse of the *mester de clerecía* or in the manageable, if clumsy, style of chronicle and hunting manual. During its course, experiment after experiment was made, and invention followed invention. When native sources failed, other literatures, both Classical and new, were tapped. Poetry modified the old forms and tried a host of new ones, rejecting and adapting until the poet had at his command a useful variety of metres. Prose at the same time made itself more supple by exercise. Consequently, by 1530, if little first-class work had been produced, at least the instrument of style had been prepared, and new paths laid out in both poetry and prose.

Although Spanish literature had never been on the whole spontaneous, yet up to the beginning of the 15th century there had always been a great body of popular poetry to offset the mass of learned writings. Now, however, the songs of the *joglars* completely died out, and authors became highly conscious of their art. Patrons of literature, like Juan II of Castile and Enrique de Villena, established circles in which ideas were exchanged, sifted, and tried. Literary criticism made its appearance for the first time. Villena's *Arte de trobar*, Santillana's *Carta al Condestable de Portugal*, Juan del Encina's *Arte de poesía castellana*, and Antonio de Nebrija's *Gramática castellana* set forth fully

the aims and methods of writers and incidentally left a record of contemporary literature which enables the clearest picture of it to be formed.

Various forces were at work to make this an age of great development. The introduction into Spain of the art of printing was not the least of these. By facilitating the circulation and preservation of literature, it led to the sifting out of the good from the bad and to the provision of models for would-be authors. Furthermore, a concentration of literary effort was achieved by the recognition of the supremacy of the Castilian dialect over the Galician and Catalan, which passed gently out of existence as literary media. Ever-increasing intercourse with Italy brought in a new influence at a time when that country was in the first vigour of the Renaissance. Bringing with it the vogue of old Classical models and of the schools of Dante and Boccaccio, Italian influence provided both the training necessary to improve the technique of Spanish poetry and the inspiration needed to rouse the *trobador* school from its torpor of convention. Finally, the energy of the nation, which had formerly been more or less absorbed by the wars of the Reconquest, was now free to expend a part of itself on literature.

The Romances.—At the beginning of the period, popular poetry had not yet died out. In his *Carta al Condestable Santillana* speaks of persons ‘que sin ningún orden, regla ni cuento, fagen estos romances e cantares de que las gentes de baxa e servil condición se alegran’. In spite of the critic’s disapproval, these *romances* remain one of the most attractive, original, and vivid forms of Spanish literature, and the traces of Germanic spirit which they retain have made them popular in England since the time of Scott. Narrative in part, and in part lyrical, they consist of a varying number of lines of sixteen syllables joined by the same assonance throughout and having a strong medial cæsure. In many ways they resemble the popular English ballads on Robin Hood or the Border forays, though some of them show a superior art and refinement.

The *romance* stands as a remarkable refutation of the now exploded theory that epics like the *Iliad* and *Beowulf* grew out of a patchwork of ballads, for here in Spain the ballad was clearly the outcome of the epic. The early epics were divided into metrical sections, each of which had a single assonance. Quite naturally there was a tendency for breaks in the narrative to coincide with these metrical changes of gear, and the uniformly assonanced parts became paragraphs. This stage had been reached when the *Poema de mio Cid* was composed. It was but a step from this for the metrical divisions to become self-sufficient accounts of single incidents. Finally, since the complete story was known to all, the *joglar* confined himself to the most interesting parts, and the epic became a mere collection of poems on the more striking episodes of the legend. This stage is exemplified in the series of *romances* on the Cid, Fernán González, the Infantes de Lara, and don Rodrigo.

Once the self-contained nature of these epic fragments had been established, the *joglar* found no difficulty in extending his range of subject. The spurious hero Bernardo del Carpio was invented as an offset to the French Roland, and various historical incidents, especially the events of the reign of Pedro el Cruel and of the closing scenes of the Reconquest, were naturally adopted for treatment. The *romances fronterizos*—on the last theme—are among the best of the kind, the most famous being those beginning *De Antequera partió el moro*, and *Paseóbase el rey moro*. As the *joglar's* knowledge of literature increased and his search for novelty widened, tales of chivalry like those of the Carolingian cycle and the Arthurian legend were requisitioned for use, and *En París está doña Alda*, a pathetic description of the receipt of the news of Roland's death by his betrothed, is the best on these subjects. As the century wore on, the *romances* became fashionable among the upper classes, and courtly poets began to write them. The poems were therefore influenced by the art of

the *trobador*, lost their heroic tone, and became more delicate and refined. These later characteristics are particularly evident in *romances* like *Fonte frida* and its companion *Rosa fresca*.

As the *romances* were not written down at first and have survived in late *cancioneros*, they are in almost every case anonymous and their exact date of composition cannot be determined. Internal evidence, which is chiefly of a linguistic nature, justifies the conclusion that none of the existing poems were composed before 1400. Among the poems themselves, some are clearly earlier than others in subject and workmanship, but this does not always mean that the *romance* of ruder construction was necessarily written before others of more artistic character. While the *joglar* continued for some time to compose his rough pieces, more refined poems were being written by poets of the *trobador* school. A few appear in the *Cancionero de Stúñiga* under the name of Carvajal or Carvajales. In the hands of these courtly poets, the *romance* in time became changed out of recognition, and the so-called *romances* of Góngora do not belong to the old popular form at all.

From their nature the *romances* are extremely varied in quality, but the best of them deserve inclusion in any anthology, however select, of Spanish poetry. They are peculiarly national and reflect accurately and in a pleasing manner the society of their age. The earliest of them are fresh, vigorous, and sincere, while even the later ones preserve an interest that is often lacking in the more conventional work of the *trobador* school. After the clever verses of the courtly poets one turns to them with the feeling of relief experienced on exchanging a work on logic or economics for a good novel.

So important are these poems that one or two typical specimens will now be analysed, one of the series on the Infantes de Lara being chosen to represent the earlier type. According to the legend, Rodrigo de Lara married in 985 a certain doña Lambra. At the wedding Gonzalo,

youngest son of Gustos, señor de Lara, offended the bride, who thereupon plotted the downfall of Gustos and his seven sons, the Infantes de Lara. Bringing about the imprisonment of Gustos by Almanzor, the great Chamberlain of Hixem II, she persuaded the Infantes to attempt a rescue. Through the treacherous guidance of her husband, the young men fell into the trap set for them by the Moors at her instigation and they were all killed together with their *ayo*, Nuño Salido. Their heads were then taken to Almanzor. Here our *romance* takes up the story. Almanzor summons Gustos into his presence and asks him to recognise the heads. A painful scene follows in which the father apostrophises the lifeless faces of the *ayo* and his sons.

Pártese el moro Alicante vispera de Sant Cebrián ;
 ocho cabezas llevaba, todas de hombres de alta sangre.
 Sábelo el rey Almanzor, a recebírselo sale ;
 aunque perdió muchos moros, piensa en esto bien ganar.
 Manda hacer un tablado para mejor las mirar,
 mandó traer un cristiano que estaba en captividad.
 Como ante sí lo trujeron empezóle de hablar,
 díjole : ‘ Gonzalo Gustos, mira quién conocerás ;
 que lidiaron mis poderes en el campo de Almenar :
 sacaron ocho cabezas, todas son de gran linaje ’.
 Respondió Gonzalo Gustos : ‘ Presto os diré la verdad ’.
 Y limpiándoles la sangre, asaz se fuera a turbar ;
 dijo llorando agramente : ‘ ¡ Conóscolas por mi mal !
 la una es de mi carillo ; las otras me duelen más !
 de los infantes de Lara son, mis hijos naturales ’.
 Así razona con ellos, como si vivos hablasen :
 ‘ ¡ Dios os salve, el mi compadre, el mi amigo leal !
 ¿ Adónde son los mis hijos que yo os quise encomendar ?
 Muerto sois como buen hombre, como hombre de fiar ’.

The abrupt, arresting beginning is characteristic of the *romances*, especially the earlier ones like *Helo, helo por do viene el infante vengador* and *Arriba, canes, arriba*. The first lines are often superior to the rest of the poems and, moreover, are generally used as titles of the pieces. The verse will be seen to be rough: the second half-lines contain seven syllables nearly as often as eight; the

number of stresses, of which there should be three in each half-line, varies from two to three ; and the elision of vowels in hiatus is irregular. Besides, the assonance in *a* is broken in two places, while in line 15 the sense is run over the metrical cæsure. The narrative, however, is well constructed, though it is obviously meant for an audience acquainted with the subject. This is clearly shown by the allusive reference to Almanzor and by the omission to explain who is meant by *el mi compadre*. Almanzor's reception of the heads is plainly related, but the introduction of Gustos merely as *un cristiano* is weak. It is interesting to us, however, as showing that in the contemporary Spanish mind the division of peoples was based not on nationality, but on religion ; that the antithesis of Moor was not Castilian or Spaniard, but Christian. The words of Almanzor are the rough, heroic expression that distinguishes the earlier *romances* and contain a horrid, cruel cynicism. The reply of Gustos is disappointing. One would expect a sublime retort or the utter silence of grief. The subsequent apostrophe is better and expresses in a poetic manner the relation between Nuño and his lord. In the rest of the poem, which has been omitted and which contains similar addresses to the Infantes, much skill is shown in the avoidance of repetition. In the end Almanzor is moved to pity for his captive and softens his treatment. Other *romances* relate how Gustos wins the love of Almanzor's sister and has by her a son, Mudarra, who in course of time avenges the fate of his father and step-brothers.

The later development of the *romance* is illustrated in *Fonte frida*.

Fonte frida, fonte frida,	fonte frida y con amor,
do todas las avezicas	van tomar consolación,
sino es la tortolica	que está biuda y con dolor.
Por allí fuera a passar	el traydor de rui señor :
las palabras que le dize	llenas son de traición :
—Si tú quisiesse, señora,	yo sería tu servidor.
—Vete de ahí, enemigo,	malo, falso engañador,
que ni poso en ramo verde,	ni en prado que tenga flor ;

que si el agua hallo clara,	turbia la bebía yo ;
que no quiero haber marido,	porque hijos no haya, no :
no quiero plazer con ellos,	ni menos consolación.
Déxame, triste enemigo,	malo, falso, mal traydor,
que no quiero ser tu amiga	ni casar contigo, no !

It must be understood that this poem is not necessarily later in date of composition than that on the Infantes de Lara. It merely represents a later development in spirit and technique on the earlier poems of which the Infantes de Lara is the representative. Here there are no rough encounters of heroic personages, no deeds of violence, expressed in the plain, sincere language of the earlier type. Instead, we notice a refined spirit, a narrative of a society in which intrigues of love are a main interest. The ideas are more sophisticated, the expression figurative. *Si el agua hallo clara, turbia la bebía yo*, says the injured lady, if the stream of love seems clear and smooth, I find it dark and rough. That is a thought which could not be found in the earlier *romances*. Nor could the rather frigid conceit of the birds resorting to the fountain for consolation. The whole produces the impression of a delicate and pretty piece of art.

As regards technique, the poem is nearly perfect. Its assonance is faultless, while the verses (with the exception of the last, which is short) have their quota of sixteen syllables and two stresses in each half-line. It may thus be taken as typical of the versification peculiar to the *romance*.

The Trobador School of Poetry.—While popular inspiration concentrated its expression in *romances*, lyrical poetry in general gradually assumed the characteristics of Provence. The efforts of ENRIQUE DE VILLENA (1384–1434) led to the establishment of a Court of Love and to annual contests similar to those at Toulouse, and poets increasingly paid more attention to form and less to matter. There was a definite breach with the *mester de clerecía*, and the *cuaderna vía* passed out of use. Poetry became almost exclusively strophic. Although the lyrical forms and subjects of the school of Ruíz and Ayala were not rejected, yet developments took place on the Provençal lines. The

results were that, while the poems composed were conventional in manner and expression and commonplace in subject, a large number of metrical forms were tried out and suitable types produced ready for the use of the masterly hands of the poets of the next century.

Villena's patronage of literature was continued by Juan II of Castile. This king, who like his great ancestor Alfonso el Sabio had too much love for literature to be a strong ruler, occupied the throne during one of the most troublous times in the history of his country. Yet he surrounded himself with poets and men of letters and did much to foster literature and more especially the development of poetry. Himself a moderate poet, his claim to mention here lies in his patronage at a critical time. Among his followers the noblest seem to have occupied their leisure hours in writing poetry, while his opponents ever found in literary interest a ready path for return to his favour.

One of the important results of Juan's patronage of literature was the practice of collecting anthologies of verse which included, besides the works of contemporary authors, short head-notes and brief critiques giving much information about the poets and their aims and methods. These anthologies were known as *cancioneros*. The earliest of them, the *Cancionero de Baena*, was compiled in 1445 for the use of the king himself. This was closely followed by the *Cancionero de Stúñiga*, and about 1500 a collection of *romances* and other pieces formed the *Cancionero de Fernández de Costantina*. The most comprehensive was the *Cancionero general* edited by Hernando del Castillo in 1511. Other *cancioneros* were subsequently published, but none deserve mention except the famous *Romancero general* (1600-14), which in spite of its name contains no genuine *romance*. It is owing to these anthologies that so much of the poetry of this period has survived.

Little is known of the poets, or *trobadores*—as they called themselves—of the early 15th century. Perhaps the most representative figure among them was Macías. Only a

few poems of his have survived and they are all mediocre, but literature has placed a halo of romantic legend round his name, and we give his story as an illustration of the spirit of the age. According to one version, Macías was in the suite of Enrique de Villena and, falling desperately in love with a married lady, aroused a burning jealousy in the husband through his compositions addressed to her. The platonic element so usual in *trobador* love does not seem to have existed in this case; at any rate, the husband did not think so, and he complained to Villena, who as Grand Master of the Order of Calatrava threw Macías into prison. Even this misfortune did not cure the unhappy poet of his love, and he continued to spend his time in making songs about his passion and in singing them in his prison. One day the jealous husband happened to pass the prison and, worked up to a frenzy of rage by the songs of the poet, thrust a spear through the bars of the cell and slew the unfortunate lover. The story was at once seized upon by two of the leading poets of the day, the Marqués de Santillana and Juan de Mena, and worked up, doubtless with much poetic exaggeration, into a tragic episode. The imagination of writers of later times has often been fired by their narratives, and the fate of Macías has become one of the great themes of Spanish literature. Lope de Vega used it for the plot of his drama *Porfiar hasta morir*, while in the 19th century the story was revived by Larra in his drama *Macías* and also in his novel of *El doncel de don Enrique el Doliente*. Undoubtedly too it suggested the main plot of Gutiérrez' *Trobador*.

The chief poet of the time, however, was don Íñigo López de Mendoza, MARQUÉS DE SANTILLANA. Born in 1398 of noble parentage, he belonged to a family which for two centuries distinguished itself in literature. A man of his rank could not avoid being embroiled in the political troubles of his day, but, although he was hostile to the powerful favourite, Álvaro de Luna, he remained loyal to the king and fought on his side at Olmedo, being rewarded

for his services in that battle with the title of *marquis*. He died in 1458. Devoted to poetry, he was widely read in the literatures of his own country and of France. His theories of the literary art are laid down in the *Carta al Condestable de Portugal*, which has been mentioned above and which he addressed to that nobleman as a preface to a collection of his own works.

In his early years Santillana wrote lyrics in the manner of Ruíz and Ayala, but influenced by the Provençal-Catalan ideas fostered by Villena. An examination of one of these pieces will show this *trobador* poetry at its best. It is a *serranilla* and has been selected not only because it is the best of Santillana's work, but also because a comparison with Ruíz's *serrana* quoted above is instructive.

Moça tan hermosa
non vi en la frontera
como una vaquera
de la Finojosa.

Faciendo la via
del Calatreveño
a Sancta Maria,
vengido del sueño
por tierra fragosa
perdí la carrera,
do vi la vaquera
de la Finojosa,
En un verde prado
de rosas e flores,
guardando ganado
con otros pastores,
la vi tan graciosa
que apenas creyera
que fuesse vaquera
de la Finojosa.
Non creo las rosas
de la primavera
sean tan fermosas
nin de tal manera,
fablando sin glosa,
si antes sopiera
de aquella vaquera
de la Finojosa.

Non tanto mirara
su mucha beldad,
porque me dexara
en mi libertad.
Mas dixé : ' Donosa ',
(por saber quien era)
' ¿ donde es la vaquera
de la Finojosa ? '
Bien como riendo
dixó : ' Bien vengades ;
que ya bien entiendo
lo que demandades :
non es deseosa
de amar, nin lo espera,
aquessa vaquera
de la Finojosa.'

Two features strike the reader at once : the conventionality of the subject, which has been treated twice before by Ruíz and scores of times by others, and the lighter and more lyrical quality of the verse as compared with its antecedents of the last period. The old thematic stanza is there, but a remarkable development of Ayala's method of repeating the thematic stanza after each strophe is seen in the repetition of only a line and a half. This gives the lyrical effect of the refrain without the encumbrance of a whole stanza which does not quite fit in with the sense of the preceding strophe. The most remarkable quality of the piece is its simplicity, for not a single poetic conceit or artificial trope occurs in it. Parts of it bear a faint resemblance to the English folksong 'Where are you going to, my pretty maid?' but the short lines of the Spanish poem give it a lightness which is absent from the English counterpart. The *trobador* has undoubtedly triumphed here over conventionality, and few lyrics in any language are as sweet as this *serranilla*.

Besides this and other *serranillas*, Santillana also composed *villancicos*, or poems on rustic love, *canciones*, *decires*, *cantigas de amigo*, *serventesios*, and *recuestas*, or flytings between poets and written in dialogue. It is impossible to give specimens of these, and the reader must seek them in collections of Santillana's works. There he will notice above all the great variety of metres used as compared with the few employed by earlier poets. But with rare exceptions the verse is artificial, for the Provençal-Catalan source had become stagnant, and a new flush of inspiration was needed to freshen the stream of Spanish lyrical verse.

The necessary stimulus came from Italy. Internal dissensions and the shackling inheritance of an effete Latin literature had long prevented the growth of vernacular compositions in that country and caused her to be surpassed by France and Spain. Italian poetry first appeared in the 13th century in the Marca Trivigiana in the north

of the peninsula, but it was Provençal verse transplanted, and the poets, of whom Sordello is the best known, actually called themselves *trovatori*. Somewhat later in the same century a breach between Frederick II and the Pope led to the encouragement by the former of the establishment in Sicily of a native school of poetry on the model of the Provençal and in opposition to the Latin traditionalists of the papal entourage. Spreading afterwards to Bologna and other cities of the mainland, the new school steadily developed until the genius of Dante (1265-1321) placed it on a firm and permanent national footing. His work was inimitable, but two later writers of the same school, Francesco Petrarca (1304-74) and Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-75), reached more measurable heights and at once became the media through which the spirit of the Renaissance then in progress in Italy was widely spread through Europe. Chaucer in England and the Pléiade in France were deeply influenced. Hence, it is not surprising to find that Spain was also affected.

There were indeed special reasons why Spain should react more than any country to Italian influence. The centuries of war with the infidel Moors had imbued the Spaniards with a spirit of Christian fanaticism that naturally produced a great respect for the homeland of the head of the Church. Added to this, the Spanish and Italian languages were sufficiently alike for the peoples to be able to understand each other and for literary forms to be transferable with ease from one to the other. Spain too was casting the eye of political ambition eastwards and the kingdom of the two Sicilies, which in 1282 had received a Spanish dynasty, was annexed by Ferdinand the Catholic in 1479.

It was rather to be expected, then, that the stagnating waters of *trobador* poetry should be sweetened by contact with the fresh Italian sources. But the true spirit of the Renaissance was not yet caught and the influence of Italy did not exert its full power until a later period. Spanish poets for the most part missed the higher things in Italian

literature and imitated it in the more trivial outward forms. Thus, the dream *motif* of the *Divina Commedia*, though not new in Spain, became a commonplace, while the allusions to classical Latin authors and to the legends of Greece and Rome were used, often inaccurately, to trick out poems with tawdry and useless ornament. Italian metres, too, were adopted, as for instance the sonnet form and the *ottava rima*, while the longer Spanish verses like the *arte mayor* became fashionable owing to their resemblance to the longer Italian types, and the old Spanish short verses were discarded.

Italian influence was first introduced by FRANCISCO IMPERIAL, a cultured Sevillian of Genoese extraction and a remarkable linguist. His *Decir a las siete virtudes* has the Dantesque allegorical manner and consists largely of ideas culled from the *Divina Commedia*. The new fashion was at once taken up and applied to shorter poems by ALONSO ÁLVAREZ DE VILLASANDINO, a man of dissolute habits, but with a facility for versifying which he used chiefly for approaching the favour and charity of great men. His works fill the major part of the *Cancionero de Baena*, which is sometimes called by his name.

Villasandino's works are important chiefly because of their influence on Santillana. This poet in his later days gave up the *trobador* style and adopted the Italian fashion. His works thus produced consist in the main of forty-two sonnets '*fechos al itálico modo*' and three long poems: *La defunción de don Enrique de Villena*, an extravagant eulogy in which abound classical allusions ignorantly used and in bad taste; *La coronación de Jordí*, an appreciation of Jordí's poetry in the allegorical style; and *La comedieta de Ponza*, his chief work, whose name betrays its Dantesque origin. The theme of the poem is the naval battle which was fought in 1485 near the island of Ponza and in which the kings of Aragon and Navarre, together with don Enrique of Castile, were captured by the Genoese. The poet sees in a vision the mother and wives of the captive princes in consultation with Boccaccio, author of *de*

Casibus Principum, on the subject of the fall of great men. News of the disaster at Ponza arrives, and the ladies are overwhelmed with grief. But Fortune appears and consoles them with prophecies of the future greatness of their family. The poem is dull and overloaded with ill-digested learning.

The strain of Santillana's later work was taken up by his younger contemporary, JUAN DE MENA (1411-56). Some of this poet's early work was in the *trobador* style and appears in the *Cancionero de Baena*. Other pieces written under Italian influence are included in the *Cancionero de Stúñiga*. But none of these lyrics are of any value, for Mena did not have Santillana's lightness of touch. He soon took to the heavier style of Francisco Imperial and produced *Los siete pecados mortales* on the lines of the *Decir a las siete virtudes*. The poem has no merit and is a tedious and lengthy metaphysical discussion of an allegorical war between Reason and Man's Will. Mena's next piece, *La coronación*, was a eulogy of Santillana, who is supposed to be crowned on Mount Parnassus for his public and poetic merits. The use of Dantesque ideas and phraseology is so recurrent that, in view of the satirical vein which runs through the poem, the composition has been thought by some to have been intended as a parody.

Mena's principal work and the one by which his reputation must stand or fall is *El laberinto de Fortuna* or, as it is often called, *Las trescientas*. The machinery of the poem is strictly Dantesque. Providence finds the poet lost in a wood and takes him to a point of vantage whence he can see the wheels of Fate—the whirligig of time, as Shakspeare called them—turning and bringing before the poet's eyes the shades of distinguished men. Many of the descriptions of these persons are without merit and the opportunity thus created was used for a good deal of fulsome adulation of the king and the most powerful courtiers. A French critic has said that the poem is unreadable, and he was not far from the truth. Its dullness and obvious efforts at artistic effects are intolerable. The best passage is the one

relating the fall of the Conde de Niebla, an obscure contemporary hero who perished gallantly in an attack on the Moorish fortress of Gibraltar. Some of the stanzas are quoted so as to give an idea of the style of the Italianists of this period :

160. Aquel que en la barca parece sentado,
 Vestido, en engaño de las bravas ondas,
 En aguas crueles, ya más que no hondas,
 Con mucha gran gente en la mar anegado,
 Es el valiente, no bien fortunado,
 Muy virtuoso, perinclito conde
 De Niebla, que todos sabeis bien adonde
 Dió fin al día del curso hadado.
161. Y los que lo cercan por el derredor,
 Puesto que fuesen magníficos hombres,
 Los títulos todos de todos sus nombres,
 El nombre los cubre de aquel su señor ;
 Que todos los hechos que son de valor
 Para se mostrar por sí cada uno,
 Cuando se juntan y van de consuno,
 Pierden el nombre delante el mayor.

The verse-form consists of double *redondillas* of eleven-syllabled lines riming *abba, acca ; deed, dffd*, and having a cæsura after the fifth or sixth syllable with two stresses in each half-line. The stanzas, or *coplas*, number 297, not 300 as the secondary title of the poem implies, with an appendix of twenty-four more prescribed by the king. The metrical correctness is great, for in forging the instrument used in so masterly a fashion by their successors the courtly poets of the Portico aimed at accuracy as well as variety of form. One of the blots on Mena's style—illustrated in the passage quoted by the use of the word *perinclito*—is his addiction to needless 'ink-horn terms' and other borrowings.

Exigencies of space forbid more than a nominal reference to Pérez de Ribera, Pérez de Guzmán, Antón de Montoro, Álvarez Gato, Hernán Mexía, Juan de Padilla, and other minor poets whose works fill the *cancioneros*, and we must pass on to the two Manriques. GOMEZ MANRIQUE (1412 ?-90) was a nephew of Santillana and like his uncle took part in the political disturbances of his age. His lyrics are

preserved in a special *cancionero*, but they are just the kind of thing turned out by the score at this time. The death of his uncle led to his composing an elegy in the Dantesque manner of the *Comedieta de Ponza*, but his chief work is *Los consejos*, a philosophical poem addressed to Diego Arias Dávila on the instability of fortune and the vanity of the world. His selection for special mention is largely due to his influence on his nephew.

This was JORGE MANRIQUE (1440-78), who spent his life and lost it in the troubles connected with the succession of Isabel the Catholic. The author of some fifty poems in the contemporary style, he is known solely on account of his *Coplas a la muerte de su padre* or shortly, as they are usually called in Spain, *Las coplas de Manrique*. The poem is one of the world's noblest elegies and is worthy to be ranked with, if not above, the *Lycidas* of Milton, the *Adonais* of Shelley, and the *In Memoriam* of Tennyson. Written in a stanza of the poet's own invention, the *Coplas* show a deep and sincere feeling of loss coupled with a philosophical sense of resignation proper to the noblest dispositions. Here for the first time Spanish poetry reaches the real heights of Parnassus. Lope de Vega declared that it deserved to be written in letters of gold, and Longfellow has left a noble rendering for the English reader. The original can be found in any anthology of Spanish verse, but a few lines are quoted to mark the standard to which Spanish poetry attained at this period :

Este mundo es el camino
para el otro, que es morada
sin pesar ;
mas cumple tener buen tino
para andar esta jornada
sin errar.

Partimos quando nascemos,
andamos mientra biuimos,
y llegamos
al tienpo que fenescemos ;
assi que quando morimos,
descansamos.

Este mundo bueno fue
si bien usasemos del
como deuemos,
porque, segun nuestra fe,
es para ganar aquel
que atendemos.
Y aun aquel fijo de Dios
para sobirnos al cielo
descendio
a nacer aca entre nos,
y a biuir eneste suelo
do murio.

Manrique's *Coplas* combine the philosophy of the Moors with the learning of Italy. Sánchez de Talavera's elegy on Ruy Díaz de Mendoza and the works of Martínez de Medina provided many of the ideas, but the main influence was exerted by Gómez Manrique. But if originality of thought is not one of the qualities of the *Coplas*, Manrique's claim to greatness lies in his extremely beautiful expression of thoughts that must occur to nearly every man once in his life.

Didactic and Satirical Poetry.—Five poems do not fit in with the conventional subjects of the period, but deal with matters which were rather closer to real life. The first is a didactic work, *Los proverbios de gloriosa doctrina e fructuosa enseñanza*, written by Santillana at the request of Juan II for the instruction of his son, who afterwards became Enrique IV. It consists of a hundred doggerel stanzas, of which the following is a typical example :

17. Si fueres gran eloquente,
bien será ;
pero mas te convenra
ser prudente,
que *el prudente es obediente*
todavía
a moral filosofia,
y sirviente.

Each stanza contains a proverb and is furnished with a note of explanation in prose. Many of these notes were written by Pedro Díaz de Toledo, who himself compiled a collection of maxims from Seneca. The *Proverbios* are directly descended from Sem Tob's work and drew their matter from the Bible, from various classical writers, and from a number of other sources.

The other poems are satirical. The *Doctrinal de privados*, also the work of Santillana, contains fifty-three stanzas in double *redondillas* of lines of eight syllables. It is supposed to be the confession of the famous Álvaro de Luna made to a priest and to the crowd at his execution in 1453 and con-

tains bitter condemnation of the discredited favourite. Such an attack on a dead man was hardly worthy of Santillana's character. Even more dastardly were the *Coplas del Provincial*, an anonymous work which merely slings mud at the distinguished men of the day. It pictures the Court as a religious house, of which the author himself is the superior and vents his spleen on the courtiers, who appear before him in the garb of members of the house. It begins as follows :

El Provincial es llegado
a aquesta corte real,
de nuevos motes cargado
ganoso de decir mal.

Y en estos dichos se atreve,
y si no cúlpense a el,
si de diez veces las nueve
no diere en mitad del fiel.

More legitimate was the ; *Ay!* ; *Panadera!*, supposed to have been the work of Juan de Mena. It is a kind of *cantiga de escarnio* and is directed against the rebel nobles who made such a feeble effort at resistance in the battle of Olmedo. Each stanza holds seven octosyllabic lines and the refrain which has given the poem its name. The rime-scheme is *abba, acca*.

Lastly, there is a medieval survival known as *La danza de la Muerte*. Composed about 1425, it is an imitation of the famous *Danse Macabre* which is painted with illustrations on the walls of the vaults under the church of Saints Innocents in Paris. The vanity of things and the levelling up of the classes by Death form the teaching of the poem. Ecclesiastics and laymen are taken in pairs, beginning from the pope and the emperor and going down to the bottom of the social scale. The Spanish version differs from the French by the addition of a head-note in prose and of a Jewish rabbi and a Moorish *alfaquí* to the characters. The dialogue between the Pope and Death is as follows :

Dise el Padre Santo : ¡ Ay de mí triste ! ¡ Qué cosa tan fuerte !
 ¡ E yo que tractava tan grand prelasía
 Aber de pasar agora la muerte
 E non me baler lo que dar solía !
 Benefiçios e honrras e grand sennoría
 Toue en el mundo pensando beuir :
 Pues de ti, Muerte, non puedo fuyr,
 Bal me Ihesucristo e la birgen María.

Dise la Muerte : Non bos enojedes, sennor padre santo,
 De andar en mi dança que tengo ordenada.
 Non bos baldrá el bermejo manto :
 De lo que fezistes abredes soldada.
 Non vos aproueche echar la crusada,
 Proueer de obispados nin dar benefiçios :
 Aquí moriredes syn faser bolliçios.
 Dançad imperante con cara pagada.

Prose.—If for Spanish poetry the fifteenth century was a period of preparation, in prose it saw an even greater development. While poetic effort resulted in only one superlative piece, the *Coplas de Manrique*, and a few *trobador* trifles, prose style almost perfected itself, and its writers showed a power of invention the want of which was stifling the poets. The chronicles, rising as high as such a cramping form would allow, gave birth to a number of kinds of historical works and to the historical romance, which in its turn begat the novel of chivalry. If most of these works are now to be read for their historical interest only, yet a period that boasts the production of *Generaciones y semblanzas* need not depend for its glory on its invention of the modern novel alone.

The advance of prose was largely due to historical circumstances. Spain had been a nation in arms for seven hundred years, and her population had developed a military frame of mind. Finding herself strong after her exertions, as an athlete after his training, she applied to literature and especially to the record of military deeds that energy which her wars with the Moors had instilled into her, but which the Granadine kingdom was now too weak to occupy fully.

But there was another cause of progress. The reverence for learning which the wise Alfonso had established had become a tradition with the kings and leaders of the nation. Enrique de Villena, himself a mediocre *dilettante* in poetry and prose writing, emulated the practice of his ancestor Alfonso X and set himself to the study of science. His own results—a treatise on the evil eye and other pseudo-scientific subjects—were of no value, but he kept alive the tradition of learning. His non-scientific prose works are also a continuation of the lines traced out by his predecessors. An *Arte cisoría*, or art of carving at table, is this curious man's development of the treatises on hunting by Juan Manuel and Ayala, while his *Trabajos de Hércules* is in a way a descendant of the *Caballero Cifar*, modified by a false allegorical treatment suggested by Italian writings. A linguist of wide competence, he carried on Ayala's task of translating foreign works, adding prose versions of the *Æneid* and the *Divina Commedia* to the already existing stock.

The tradition of scholarship was maintained after Villena's death, and the list of translations from classical and modern literatures is too long to give in detail. We will confine ourselves to Pérez de Guzmán's selection of Sallust's letters, the same author's historical works by Francisco Vidal de Noya, Plutarch's *Lives* (1491) and Josephus' *History of the Jews* (1492) by Palencia, Aristotle's *Ethics* by don Carlos de Viana, the *Golden Ass* of Apuleius by Diego López de Cortegana, and the *Amphitryon* of Plautus by Francisco López de Villalobos. Of works done into Spanish from other modern languages there were the anonymous versions of the *Decameron* and *Fiammetta* which appeared in 1496 and 1497 respectively, and Petrarch's *Trionfi* (1512) and Dante's *Inferno* (1515) were soon added to the list, while Honoré Bonnet's *Arbre des Batailles* was rendered by Diego de Valera.

Prose style is more easily learnt from a study of foreign models than poetry is, for as a rule exotic versification will

not fit the native tongue and lengthy experiments must be made, while the rules for prose writing in one language will among European idioms do for any other. The influence of classical writers, and historians in particular, soon made itself seen in Spanish prose, and beside the homely style of the chronicle writers a loftier vein was soon apparent, imitated from the works of Livy, Sallust, and Tacitus.

The period saw an increase in didactic prose works. Some were collections of fables and apologues after the manner of *El conde Lucanor*. Such, for instance, are *El libro de los exemplos* by Clemente Sancho de Vercial and the anonymous *Espéculo de los legos*. Others are manuals, as for example, *El jardín de las nobles doncellas*, a work written by Martín de Córdoba specially for the use of the then youthful Isabel the Catholic. But the majority were of wider appeal and intended as works, and not merely manuals, of philosophy. The great ÁLVARO DE LUNA himself dabbled in this kind of literature and wrote *El libro de las virtuosas e claras mujeres*. It is divided into three parts, dealing respectively with women of the Old Testament, of Classical literature, and of Christendom in general. The writer's chivalrous purpose was to enhance the social position of women. Unlike all the prose works mentioned before in this chapter, it may still be read with pleasure. The greatest didactic work, however, is *La visión deleytable* by the *bachiller* Alfonso de la Torre. An exposition of contemporary philosophy, it is divided into two parts, the first of which lays down in an allegorical manner the principles of philosophy, while the second deals with their application and discusses the problems which occupied the thinkers of the day. In the abstraction of its philosophy as well as in its apologues is seen the influence of the Moors.

Three books which appeared, one in Castile and two in Cataluña, after the middle of the century continue in prose the satirical tone of Juan Ruíz. The first in time was *El libre de les dones* by the Catalan FRANCES DE EXIMENIZ.

As the name implies, it treats of women and in fact it attacks them and describes their faults and weaknesses. The theme was taken up in Castilian by MARTÍN DE TOLEDO, archpriest of Talavera, who drawing his matter from Eximeniz and Juan Ruíz, applies his satire somewhat in the spirit of the latter. His work, which has gone under various names, is now usually called *El corbacho*, and, though pretending to be a satire on men and women, follows the attack made by Eximeniz upon the latter. The third was by the Catalan poet JAIME ROIG, whose *Libre de Consell* is just a variant of the other two. It has been thought that all three were undertaken as a counter-blast to the work of Álvaro de Luna.

We have mentioned the letter written by Alfonso el Sabio to Guzmán el Bueno and we have referred more than once to that addressed by Santillana to the Constable of Portugal. Letter writing became frequent during the 15th century, and, as might be expected of men who translated the letters of Cicero and Seneca, the writers took great pains in the composition of the epistles and in preserving them when written. The style is often frigid, formal, and artificial, and the letters are more interesting for their contents than pleasant to read. The three principal writers whose correspondence has been preserved are Diego de Valera, Pérez de Guzmán, and Hernando del Pulgar. The latter's are especially interesting for the information they give about the events which passed at the court of the Catholic sovereigns.

Had these works concluded the list of Spanish prose in the 15th century, they would be evidence that the language had become an efficient instrument for literary purposes. But they were in truth just minor products, mere literary lumber to be cleared away first ; and the important things are yet to be mentioned. These are chronicles and the various forms of prose writings springing therefrom. This period was the harvest time of the prose chronicle which we have traced from its beginnings in the monkish

Latin diaries and the official records of the kings of Castile down to the work of the *gran canceller* Ayala. Ayala's chronicle ended with the reign of Enrique III in 1406, and the writings of the new period begin with the *Crónica abreviada* or *valeriana* by Diego de Valera, who has been mentioned for his letters and as a translator. It is an abridgement of the *Grande e general estoria* and shows but little advance, if any, on the works of the previous age.

The turbulent reign of Juan II (1406-54) provided stirring matter which put a fresh vigour into the chronicles. The *Crónica de Juan II* is an interesting document and offers lively pictures of the political intrigues and civil strife of the time. Both the poet Juan de Mena, who was the official historiographer of the reign, and Pérez de Guzmán, a nephew of Ayala, have been thought to be its author, but modern research has thrown great doubts on the claims of either writer. With the reign of Enrique IV the liveliness of the chronicle is increased by a spirit of partisanship which, though it diminishes the historical value of the document, adds to its vigour and interest. The reign boasts two chronicles, one by Diego Enríquez del Castillo and the other by Alfonso de Palencia, the translator. Castillo was the king's chaplain and councillor and was therefore in a position to give a full and accurate account of the events of the troublous times. Unfortunately, his papers fell into the hands of his enemies and were lost, and he was forced afterwards to write from memory. Moreover, the final text was prepared in the following reign, when the author's enemies were in the ascendant. Hence, it is full of ambiguities and is marked by a tone of timid restraint. For that reason it is no counterblast to the chronicle of Palencia, who admittedly supports the party of the would-be usurper Alfonso, but, being under no restrictions, writes in a sincere and convincing style.

Following the practice which had now become established in Castile, don Carlos, prince of Viana, who has been mentioned above as a translator of Aristotle, wrote a *Crónica*

de los reyes de Navarra. Of little merit as literature, the work marks an advance in historical composition, since it is the first of the chronicles to quote documentary evidence.

By now chronicle writing was no longer regarded as a dull record of events, but as an opportunity for propaganda and for literary distinction. Accordingly, the reign of Ferdinand and Isabel is described by several works, though only two are of any value. The first is by Andrés Bernáldez, chaplain to Diego Deza, archbishop of Seville, and a friend of Columbus. The chief importance of his work lies in the author's use of the discoverer's private papers, a fact which gives great authority to the passages concerning the voyages to America. The second chronicle is by Hernando del Pulgar, the official historiographer of the Catholic Sovereigns. It is partial and untrustworthy, showing the symptoms of the disease which was shortly to kill chronicle writing. After Pulgar, the chronicles are merely servile adulations of the kings and are valueless either as history or as literature.

In the meantime, however, the recognition of the literary possibilities of the chronicle had caused an important development. Instead of writing a general account of a contemporary reign, literary aspirants began to specialise on particular events and later even passed on to narratives of travel, biographies, and historical portraits of leading men. The first category includes two books, both of which are not only peculiar in form to Spanish literature, but also living documents of the spirit of the age of Juan II. Presently we shall have to deal with the fantastic novels of chivalry and we shall wonder on what basis of fact the seeming-wild imaginations of their authors worked. It will be well, therefore, to give a full account of the narrative of *El paso honroso* in order to show how little removed from ordinary life were the apparently chimerical adventures of the fictitious heroes of whom we shall hear later.

Suero de Quiñones, a young man of noble family, had declared himself love's prisoner to a certain lady and had

vowed to wear an iron collar until he had broken three hundred lances in knightly encounter to her honour. To secure the opportunity of breaking the lances, he advertised far and wide that he together with nine companions would hold the bridge of San Marcos de Orbigo, near León, against all comers for a month. His family stood the cost of entertainment for the challengers who should appear, and the king gave his countenance to the affair. No fewer than sixty-eight knights answered the fantastic defiance and appeared to do battle with the ten champions. Seven hundred encounters took place, in which over three hundred spears were broken, thus fulfilling the vows of the young Suero. An Aragonese knight was slain and all but one of those who took part in the encounter were wounded. At the conclusion of the tournament the combatants all proceeded to the cathedral of León, where a thanksgiving service was held.

The serious purpose of those who took part in the affair was so great that an official notary, Ruy Rodríguez de Lena, was commissioned to write a record of the incidents. *Digan que fueron burla las justas de Suero de Quiñones, del Paso*, said Don Quijote in answer to his friends who regarded his passion for knight errantry as a symptom of madness; and certainly it is clear from the *Paso honroso* that the Sorrowful Knight was not so much out of the ordinary as out of date in his ideas. Froissart's *Chroniques*, though a century earlier than the *Paso*, contain no incidents of such fantastic chivalry. Yet here we have a dry-as-dust notary recording the events in a tone of official sobriety. The tournament lasted from July 14 to August 9, 1434, and de Lena's account was written at Orbigo immediately afterwards. Over a century later, in 1588, the official narrative was abridged—and some say spoilt—by Juan de Pineda. Unfortunately, the style in which the chronicle is written is unattractive, and no later prose writer has undertaken to retell the story. The Duke de Rivas and the poet Maury attempted the theme in poems

after the manner of Scott's *Marmion*, but they were not conspicuously successful.

One feature of the *Paso honroso* remains, viz. the side-lights which it throws on the religious spirit of its day. The knights who took part heard mass daily ; yet when one of them was slain, the Church denied him its burial, charging him with sinful rashness. Another of the knights who escaped with his life vowed in a spirit of thanksgiving never again to make love to nuns. How fantastic ! But how interesting !

The second work of the kind is in dark contrast to the *Paso* and shows the treachery, turbulence, and meanness to which medieval chivalry could descend in its worst moments. When the barons of Castile threw the kingdom into a turmoil and filled the country with armed bands, matters came to such a pass that some sort of peaceful settlement seemed necessary. Accordingly, in 1439 a conference was proposed at Tordesillas. But neither side would trust the other's faith, even the king being suspected of possible treachery. Finally, it was decided to entrust the conduct of the meeting to Pedro Fernández de Velasco, known as *el buen conde de Haro*, who belonged to no party. To him was given supreme power for the time being over the king himself, and the conference was held under his safeguard. When it was over, the conde de Haro wrote a semi-official account of the affair. This record, which is known as *El seguro de Tordesillas*, is a plain, sincere statement of what occurred. Like the *Paso*, however, it is couched in an unattractive style ; but its historical value is of course considerable.

From the narrative of particular events the passage to a record of a voyage is an easy one. Between 1403 and 1406 RUY GONZÁLEZ DE CLAVIJO and two companions were on an embassy from Enrique III to Tamerlane, the great khan of Samarcand. On his return Clavijo wrote an account of his voyage under the title of *Historia del gran Tamorlan, e Itinerario y enarración del viage y relación de la*

embaxada. Travelling through Gaeta, Messina, Rhodes, Chios, Constantinople, Trebizond, and Tehran, the writer spent two months, September to November of 1404, at the court of the khan in Samarcand, where he was feasted by Tamerlane himself and his queen. The book, which is not unlike the narrative of Sir John Mandeville, describes the places and peoples visited by the author and relates the customs and festivities at Samarcand. Unfortunately, the writer's observation suffered from extraordinary mirage, and, though he may be acquitted of deliberate lying, he must be taxed with crass ignorance and childish credulity.

Another work of the same kind came from the pen of PEDRO TAFUR, a member of the household of Luís González de Guzmán, Grand Master of Calatrava. During an interval in his campaigns against the Moors, the writer undertook a voyage lasting from 1435 to 1439 through the Mediterranean and in various central European countries, and on his return wrote *Andanças e viages por diversas partes del mundo avidos*. The work is unfinished, but what exists shows Tafur to have been an accomplished writer. His account is the first travel book of modern times, and his narrative is easy and charming. Starting from Sanlúcar, Tafur visited Ceuta and Málaga, passing thence to Genoa. After a round of the cities of northern Italy, he went to Jerusalem, stopping at Cyprus and Cairo on the way. From the Holy City he went on to Constantinople and thence through Greece, Germany, Flanders, and Austria. For his day he was a much-travelled man, yet he shows neither the credulity of Clavijo nor the desire to retail travellers' tales.

The letters and other fragmentary accounts left by Columbus of his great voyages of discovery naturally fall into our account at this point; but they belong rather to the narratives and reports of Cortés and other explorers and conquerors in America than to the half-fantastic and unscientific tales of this period. The documents prove the great explorer to have been a visionary who believed that

he had a mission from God. As literature, they serve to show how far Castilian prose had advanced during the century.

The next development of the royal chronicle was the biography. In earlier times *crónicas particulares*, like that of the Cid mentioned in the last chapter, had been written; but they had retained the character of national history. Now an extension of the form appeared in the shape of narratives of the stirring lives of individuals of no great importance to the kingdom at large. The first of these deals with a Pero Niño, conde de Buelna, who lived a life of daring and varied adventure which carried him to the recognised goal of the hero of fairy stories—marriage with a princess. From campaigning against the Tunisian pirates, he turned to a raid on England, where he burnt the seaport of Poole and took Jersey and Guernsey. After an affair of romantic intrigue in France, he returned to the Moorish wars in Granada, where his dashing spirit ever led him into hazardous deeds. In the end he married, in spite of much opposition, doña Beatriz, daughter of the infante don Juan. No man of letters himself, he engaged the poet Villasandino to write the verses which he addressed to doña Beatriz, and to record his exploits he employed his loyal follower, GUTIERRE DÍAZ DE GAMEZ. Of this humble author nothing is known beyond what his modesty allows him to mention in his work. His book is known as *El victorial* or *La crónica de Pero Niño*. Begun somewhere about 1431, it recounts Niño's life from 1379 to 1446, where it stops, perhaps because the dashing soldier had decided to settle down to a more sober and peaceful career. The author treats his hero as a model of chivalry and, we may imagine, exalts him somewhat about his true worth. Moreover, there is no slavish reverence for facts. Like *El gran conquista de ultramar*, the work introduces much legendary matter, connecting it in a strange way with real events. In truth, for these medieval people who were just emerging from the dark ages there were so many

strange things that they readily swallowed tales which a modern child would reject with ridicule. Yet, need we charge them with a deficient sense of criticism? *Digan que fueron burla las justas de Suero de Quiñones, del Paso*; and, if the fantastic deeds of heroes like Suero and Pero Niño were historical, why not the legends of Brutus and other fabled knights?

The style of *El victorial* is lofty and shows the muse of history beginning to rise on wings not yet full grown perhaps, yet giving promise of future strength. It is certainly one of the books of the period which can be read with pleasure even in modern times, though it is long-winded, and its trailing, complex sentences make it difficult reading. Its reflections on the characters of the English, French, and Spaniards are of great interest and point to considerable powers of observation on the part of the writer.

Don Álvaro de Luna naturally forms the subject of a special chronicle. Written within a few years of the favourite's execution in 1453, it is of doubtful authorship, though it has been attributed now to Antonio Castellanos and now to Alvar García de Santa María. It is marred by careless chronology, especially in the details of the early years of don Álvaro, and it is partial to its hero. In fact, the hero's grandson and namesake regarded it as a vindication of his ancestor's memory and caused it to be printed in 1546. If its style is more conversational than that of the *Victorial*, it is nevertheless clear, concise, and sincere. and it provides interesting reading for the historian.

In the closing years of our period we find a number of chronicles of the life of Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba, called *el Gran Capitán*. None are of any literary value, however, except the *Breve parte de las hazañas del Gran Capitán* by HERNÁN PÉREZ DEL PULGAR, a distinguished follower of the Great Captain and not to be confused with the courtly author of the chronicle of Ferdinand and Isabel. The work is not a complete biography, but deals

mostly with Gonzalo's Moorish campaigns. It is a rough, though masterly, sketch of its hero.

The preceding works are all chronicles in form and are narratives of deeds with only occasional sidelights on the characters of the actors. We now come to a book in which the sketching of character is the main object. Its author, FERNÁN PÉREZ DE GUZMÁN, was a nephew of the Chancellor Ayala and an uncle of Santillana. Born about 1376, he lived until 1460, passing through the troubled years of Juan II. Having been imprisoned by Álvaro de Luna, he retired from public life and gave himself up to letters. Besides the translation of some of Seneca's letters mentioned above, an anthology of maxims culled from various sources, and a number of mediocre poems, he wrote a work entitled *El mar de historias*, to some extent in imitation of the *Mare historiarum* of Giovanni della Colonna. It is a collection of portraits of great men and consists of three parts: the first of emperors and other Christian princes, and the second of saints and sages. In these the writer rises in no way above the standard of other chroniclers, but in the third part, entitled *Las generaciones y semblanzas y obras de los excelentes reyes de España don Enrique III e don Juan II y de los venerables perlados o notables caballeros que en los tiempos de estos nobles reyes fueron* or, as it is shortly called, *Generaciones y semblanzas*, the author climbs to the greatest heights of literary style and historical art reached up to that time not only in Spanish, but indeed in any modern European language. His portrait gallery of contemporary figures is no mean tale of gossip and intrigue. Fitzmaurice-Kelly says: *Pérez de Guzmán es un Plutarco; aunque menos grande, pertenece a la misma familia intelectual: es un maestro de retratos.*

The description of Enrique III el Doliente will give an idea of the writer's style. It should be compared on the one hand with the specimen of early prose quoted on page 41, and on the other with the selections from authors of the next period (see pages 96 and 104). The most notice-

able improvements on early style are greater clearness arising largely out of a more skilful use of pronouns, less clumsiness in handling subordinate clauses, and a tightening up of the syntax. The unending sentences, which make early prose so difficult to read, have been cut up; but a conjunction usually opens the following sentence, and there is no sign of periods in the arrangement.

Cuando llegó a los diez e siete años, uvo muchas y grandes enfermedades que le enflaquecieron el cuerpo e le dañaron la complexión; e por consiguiente, se le dañó e afeó el semblante, no quedando en el primero parecer: e aun le fueron causa de grandes alteraciones en la condición; ca con el trabajo e la afficción de la luenga enfermedad, hízose mucho triste y enojoso. Era muy grave de ver e de muy áspera conversación, así que la mayor parte del tiempo estaba solo e malenconioso: e al juicio de muchos, si lo causaba la enfermedad o su natural condición, más declinaba a liviandad que a graveza ni madurez. Pero aunque la discreción tanta no fuese, avía algunas condiciones con que trahía su hacienda bien ordenada e su reino razonablemente regido: ca él presumía de sí que era suficiente para regir e gobernar. E como a los reyes menos seso y esfuerzo les basta para regir que a otros hombres, porque de muchos sabios pueden aver consejo, e su poder es tan grande, especialmente de los reyes de Castilla, que con poca hombridad que tengan, serán muy temidos, tanto que ellos hayan presunción e no se dejen gobernar de otros; así él fué muy temido. E junto con esto él era muy apartado; ca así como la mucha familiaridad e llaneza causa menosprecio, así el apartamiento e la poca conversación hace al príncipe ser temido. El avía gran voluntad de ordenar su hacienda y crecer sus rentas e tener el reino en justicia. E cualquier hombre que se da mucho a una cosa, necessario es que alcance algo della: cuanto más el rey, que nunca le fallecen buenos ministros e oficiales para aquel oficio en que él se deleita. . . . Lo que negar no se puede, alcanzó discreción para conocer e elegir buenas personas para el su consejo: lo cual no es pequeña virtud para el príncipe.

The example of Pérez de Guzmán was immediately followed by HERNANDO DEL PULGAR, the courtier who was responsible for a chronicle of the reign of the Catholic Sovereigns. He was not a soldier, but spent his whole life at the courts of Juan II, Enrique IV, and Isabel, to the last of whom he was greatly attached. His assembled correspondence, consisting of thirty-two letters addressed

to distinguished contemporaries and published under the title of *Letras*, is an important historical document. But his fame as a writer depends chiefly on his *Claros varones de Castilla*, a portrait gallery in the style of Pérez de Guzmán and containing twenty-four biographical sketches of important men of the time. Like his model, he bases his style on classical writers, Sallust in particular. He was a man of keen observation and distinguished essentials with unerring acumen, describing them in a terse and pointed style which marks him out as the second prose writer of the age.

The last historical writer who will be mentioned is ALFONSO DE PALENCIA (1423-92), who has already been named as the author of a chronicle of the reign of Enrique IV. A long sojourn in Italy imbued him with an allegorical vein which he indulged in *La guerra y batalla campal de los perros contra los lobos* and in *El tratado de la perfección del triunfo militar*. The former, written in 1456, was a satirical account of the baronial feuds of the time, though the facts are so veiled in allegory as to be unintelligible to us. The latter, written two years later, aims at exalting the merit of the Spanish soldier and discusses his qualities relatively to those of other European troops.

The practice of chronicle writing did not expand by merely branching out into various forms of historical literature: it soon developed into fiction. As we have seen, the traveller Clavijo and the biographer of Pero Niño drew no hard and fast line between fact and fable, but allowed their imaginations to add embellishments to the truth. The idea of composing a chronicle based on historical matter, but inflated with ill-founded legend and pure fiction seems to have occurred to two persons simultaneously, for in 1443 were written two books of this description, the *Crónica sarrazina* (or *Crónica de don Rodrigo*) and *La atalaya de las crónicas*. Both deal mainly with the Moorish invasion. The former pretends to have been written by certain Saracen authorities, but is really

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the work of one Pedro del Corral, who took much of his apocryphal matter from the Moorish chronicle by Rasis and from the *Crónica troyana*. The *Atalaya* was produced by Alfonso Martínez de Toledo, author of *El corbacho*. It is not as good as the *Crónica sarrazina* and gives some very unusual versions of incidents connected with don Rodrigo.

The value of these perversions of history lies in their being the beginnings of the historical novel, and in fact we find in 1513 a full-blown development in *La cuestión de amor de dos enamorados*. It is anonymous, but was probably written by a Spaniard sojourning at the court of Naples, where its scene is laid. The characters are real persons concealed—at times but feebly, at others unidentifiably—under fictitious names. There is too much sentiment, but the author was a student of psychology and treats his theme in a modern manner.

Another, and for the time being more important, outgrowth of the chronicle was the novel of chivalry. Enough has been said of the extravagances of conduct recorded in sober books like *El paso honroso* to show that Spanish society in the 15th century was prepared to receive and enjoy the most fantastic tales of chivalry. Many an incapable Suero de Quiñones no doubt yearned to enjoy vicarious adventures in the pages of a book. Given true narratives like *El paso honroso* and the *Victorial*, fictitious imitations were bound to occur, even if *El caballero Cifar* had not already set the lead with its legend of the swan knight. But the actual direction and form which the imitation was to take was influenced by two factors, internal and external Celtic imagination. The factors cannot well be distinguished, and writers there are who deny the action of one or other. But the early connexion of the *Amadis* story with Portugal and Galicia points to the influence of Cantabrian Celts, while the nomenclature of the story—at any rate in its later form—with its Gaula (= Wales), its Vindalisia (= Windsor), etc.—equally clearly points to the influence of the British legend of Arthur.

The story of *Amadis de Gaula* was known in the 14th century to the Chancellor Ayala, who heard of it during his captivity in Portugal and alluded to it in his *Rimado de palacio*. The original tale is said to have been composed by one Vasco de Lobeira, a Portuguese knight who won his spurs at Aljubarrota. His cannot have been the version known to Ayala, however. No trace has survived of the early treatments of the tale, and the *Amadis de Gaula* known to literature was published in Castilian in 1508 by GARCÍA ORDÓÑEZ DE MONTALVO. It is an immensely long story of fantastic adventures something like the Arthurian legend, but far less poetic, in spite of the use of enchanters and other magic machinery of Celtic fancy. Its intrinsic merit is small, and no one in these days would dream of reading it through for mere pleasure, though the perusal of a few chapters is not unpleasing. Its great importance in literary history arises from the epidemic of sequels and imitations which it spread and which finally led up to the great novel of Cervantes.

The first sequel, *Esplandian*, was the work of Montalvo himself and dealt with the adventures of the son of Amadis. It is inferior to the original book. Afterwards a whole series appeared, to satisfy the craze which possessed the nation during the first half of the 16th century. By various authors, they all suffered from the defects of *Amadis*—artificiality, extravagance, and longwindedness—rather than exhibited its good qualities. Selecting a few, we need only name *La historia de Florisando, sobrino de Amadis* (1526), *Lisuarte de Grecia, hijo de Esplandian, Amadis de Grecia, Don Florisel de Niquea, Anaxartes, Los hijos de Anaxartes, Don Silves de la Silva* (1546). To these were soon added the *Palmerín* series, the origin of whose story is as obscure as that of *Amadis*. The first book was *Palmerín de Oliva*, which was printed in 1511, three years after the publication of our version of *Amadis*. The continuations of this series were: *El segundo libro de Palmerín*, containing the adventures of the original hero's two sons,

Primaleón and Polendos, and the exploits of his grandson Platir. *Palmerín de Inglaterra*, which was published in 1567, is the best of this series, the rest of which are unimportant. Meanwhile, the invention of stories unconnected with any series began, and a most incredible amount of rubbish was written. The religious spirit of the nation showed itself typically in the composition of the ludicrous and, to a Protestant, profane *Caballería celestial*.

Before *Amadis* appeared in novel form, the Catalan JOHANNOT MARTORELL had written three parts of a prose story purporting to be derived from an English original. A fourth part was added by Juan de Galba, and the whole was published at Valencia in 1490 under the title of *Libre del valeros e strenu cavaller Tirant la Blanch*. A Castilian version appeared in 1511. The first part proves the influence of the legend of Arthur by placing its scene in England and by making definite allusions to the Round Table cycle. From the second part onwards, however, the writer gives up his British influence and bases his narrative on the history of medieval Greece remodelled to suit his purpose. The hero of the tale, after performing wonderful deeds and experiencing marvellous adventures, defeats the Turks and the Sultan of Egypt and is rewarded with the hand of the heiress of Greece, dying dramatically in the midst of the wedding feast. It was owing perhaps to the influence of this work that the scenes of the chivalresque novel shifted from the original ground of northwestern Europe to that of Greece: in fact, became a product of the Mediterranean race rather than that of the Alpine peoples.

Most of the novels of chivalry fall within the next period by their date of publication, but they have been treated here for compactness' sake and because none of those published after 1530 are of any importance. Taken as a whole, the type of work is a failure, and modern critics have little good to say of it. But so popular did the novels immediately become in their own day that the wiser heads of the nation began to fear the effects which such extravagant

works might have on the masses, and a regulation forbade their introduction into the American colonies. An attempt was even made to check their circulation in Spain, but without success until the disease ran its course. In the end, the extraordinary craze was ridiculed out of existence by the genius of Cervantes. Nevertheless, it must be remembered in estimating the importance of the novel of chivalry that *Don Quijote* is the crowning work of this literary form, and some credit must be given to a kind of work which resulted in the production of one of the world's greatest books.

The Drama.—It has already been shown that the Spanish drama had a popular origin in *autos* played at various religious festivals. Although no copies of the words have been preserved, there is every reason to suppose that in Spain, as in England and France, mystery and morality plays were represented throughout the latter part of the Middle Ages. A section of the *Siete partidas* rebukes the license of some of these popular dramas and thus implies their existence in the third quarter of the 13th century. The only indication of what the plays were like is given in a manuscript preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional and published in the series of the *Biblioteca hispánica* in 1901 under the title of *Colección de autos, farsas, y coloquios del siglo XVI*. The pieces included are anonymous and undated; hence, some of them may have been composed before the 16th century. At any rate, they show that the popular drama consisted of rude dialogues on biblical subjects, lives of saints, and theological or doctrinal themes—in fact, that they were much the same as the popular plays of the Middle Ages in England and France.

This popular drama had no future until it was taken up by the educated classes, and the first sign of such a movement was the composition by Gómez Manrique, the poet, of *La representación del nacimiento de Nuestro Señor*. It is a simple piece and deals with the birth of Christ and the visit of the shepherds. Manrique seems to have had no idea of founding a national drama, but wrote the piece for

the use of the convent of Calabozanos, where his sister was a nun. His play is therefore no more than a reflection of the popular drama.

After the Reconquest had proceeded far enough for order to be restored, and when men began once more to turn to literature, there was some dabbling in imitations of Latin dramatic models. In his *Carta al Condestable* Santillana says that his grandfather Pedro González de Mendoza had composed scenes after the manner of Plautus and Terence. Later, translations like that of the *Amphitryon* already mentioned were made by Villalobos and others. There is no suggestion, however, that these classical imitations and translations were intended to be acted, and for some time an interesting feature of the literary drama in Spain was that it was meant to be read.

In the meanwhile, however, the drama had been coming into fashion among the nobility in another way. The practice of interspersing recitations between the courses of meals in great men's houses, whether it was a survival of Germanic custom from the time of the Visigoths or a spontaneous invention, existed during the 15th century, and the *juego de escarnio*, *cantiga de burla*, and the semi-dramatic *recuesta* seem to have been the favourite kinds of poem used for the purpose. By the time of Álvaro de Luna such interludes had definitely assumed a dramatic form and were known appropriately as *entremeses*. It was no doubt for such a purpose that the *Coplas de Mingo Revulgo* were composed. This is a satirical dialogue between Mingo Revulgo (the lower classes) and Gil Arribato (the upper classes) on the political and social affairs of the nation under Enrique IV. It contains no dramatic action, but no doubt amused its audience by its clever, pointed satire. The authorship has sometimes been attributed to RODRIGO COTA DE MAGUAQUE, the writer of the more dramatic *Didlogo entre el amor y un viejo*, the theme of which is the ridicule attaching to an old man in love.

Up to this point the drama was in the embryo stage.

But at the end of the 15th century the three lines of development,—the popular representation, the classical imitation, and the *entremés*—converged into one in the works of JUAN DEL ENCINA. This author, who has been called the father of the Spanish drama, was born in Salamanca in 1469. At the age of twenty-five he entered the household of the Duke of Alba, but afterwards became choirmaster in the pontifical chapel at Rome. Taking orders, he held various ecclesiastical offices, ending his life as prior of the cathedral in León in 1529. Although a musician, he was always attracted by literature and has left several poems, the chief of which are the *Trivagia*, describing his journey to Jerusalem, and the *Triunfo de la fama*, an effusion on the happy ending of the Reconquest.

While in the service of the Duke of Alba, he wrote several *representaciones* and *églogas* for the entertainment of the Duke and his family. These pieces, which number eleven in all, are therefore the descendants of the *entremeses*, while the name *égloga* given to most of them betrays Virgilian influence. On the other hand, their subjects, *La noche de Navidad*, *La muerte de Cristo*, *La resurrección de Cristo*, *La noche postrera de Carnal*, indicate their relation with the popular mysteries. Some, however, have a distinct flavour of the *juego de escarnio* and one is actually called a *recuesta*. The character of Gil is reminiscent, too, of the *Coplas de Mingo Revulgo*, though the treatment is mild and religious. The pieces are all in verse, of various metres, and most of them end with a *villancico*, or semi-religious lyric.

After his sojourn in Rome, Encina set off on new lines which were destined to have far-reaching effects on the Spanish drama. In a farcical piece called *El auto del Repelón* he produced the forerunner of the comic dialogues, known as *pasos*, and other short pieces which were afterwards established by Lope de Rueda; and in two other plays—*La égloga de Plácida y Vitoriano* and *La égloga de Cristino y Febea*—he developed the intrigue and introduced

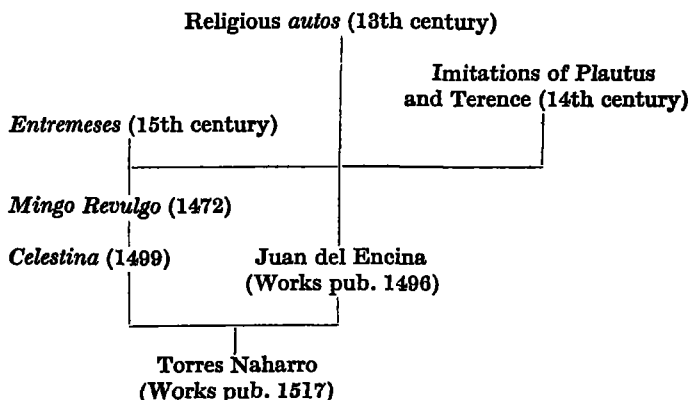
into Spain the fashion of dramatising courtly tales which were popular in the Italian *novelle*. *Plácida y Vitoriano* is the most dramatic and the longest, being divided into eight scenes. The lovers Plácida and Vitoriano quarrel, and the latter goes off vowing never to see his lady again. Plácida in despair kills herself. Meanwhile, Vitoriano is miserable on account of his break with her and returns to make up the quarrel. Finding Plácida dead, he is just about to kill himself, when Venus appears, stays his hand, and with the help of Mercury brings Plácida back to life. The lovers are then reconciled for ever. The story is a simple one, and is told in a novelesque rather than a dramatic way ; but the piece points out the road for future dramatists to take.

The first to follow the new paths was GIL VICENTE, a Portuguese gentleman, whose works are sometimes in Castilian, at other times in his own language, and not infrequently in a strange mixture of both. His object in writing the plays was to please the Queen of Portugal, a Castilian princess ; and no doubt this lady's origin, together with an attempt at realism, explains the linguistic mixture in the dialogues. His plays are twelve in number, of which half are in Castilian. He was a skilful lyricist and a lover of Nature, but he was also a master of biting satire. He painted manners well and showed some depth of philosophy in his plays. Besides being the founder of the Portuguese drama, he advanced the Spanish by introducing in his *Comedia de Rubena* (1521) an explanatory preface which was afterwards to develop into the *loa*, and he invented the stage device of magic.

Meanwhile, the school of Rodrigo Cota had been developing and had produced in *Calixto y Melibea*, or, as it is usually called, *Celestina*, one of the best received of Spanish works. Of uncertain authorship, it consists of twenty-one scenes in prose and bears marks of the influence of *El libro de buen amor*. Calixto employs Celestina—another Trotaconventos—to procure him the love of

Melibea. *Celestina* is subsequently murdered, and Calixto is killed by accident. Melibea thereupon commits suicide. The plot is far more complicated than this short account of it suggests, but it is well handled. The piece was never intended for acting, however. It is grossly vulgar in thought and expression, exceeding in this respect the poem of Ruíz; and its warm reception is an emphatic commentary on the manners of the time. An edition was printed in London the very year *Romeo and Juliet* was written; hence, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the likenesses between the two plays were due to the influence of the Spanish piece on Shakspeare. Though its dramatic influence was at first small in Spain itself, its great popularity led to continuations like those of the novels of chivalry, and in later times the theme has been retouched again and again.

The table below summarises the lines on which the development of the drama took place.



The lines of development now joined together in the works of BARTOLOMÉ DE TORRES NAHARRO. Of this writer little is known, except that he was at first a soldier, but, being captured by Algerine pirates, became a priest and settled in Italy. Besides some poems, he wrote plays, which were collected in 1517 in a single book called *Pro-*

palladia, i.e. the first fruits of wit. The volume begins with a manifesto of the author's ideas of the dramatic art. His most important precepts are that plays should have five acts and between six and seven characters. He defines the unity of action and asserts it to be to a play what the rudder is to a ship. These principles he put into practice in some seven pieces which fall, by his own classification, into two classes : *comedias a noticia* or those reproducing life, and *comedias a fantasía* or those on imaginary subjects. To the first class belong the *Trinellaria*, depicting life below stairs in a cardinal's household, the *Soldadesca*, dealing with the disorderly life of a recruit in the papal army, *Jacinta*, and *Himenea*, the prototype of the *comedia de capa y espada* and the first play in which the afterwards favourite motive of the *pundonor* makes its appearance. The plot is worth relating. A certain lady, Febea, makes an appointment with Himeneo. But her brother overhears, and, surrounding the house after the lover's arrival, is finally dissuaded from killing his sister to save the stain on his family and consents to a marriage between the couple. *Serafina* and *Trofea* belong to the second class, the latter being allegorical. Naharro's plays are at times wooden, at others extravagant, but they are far ahead of anything of the same date in England and France, and they prepare the way for the great things that were to follow in the next period. Walking in the footsteps of Encina, he advanced dramatic technique, definitely establishing the comedy of intrigue. His description of character is better than that of his predecessors, for he aimed at making his personages consistent with both plot and scene. This attempt at realism led him into the error of making foreign characters speak in their own language, a proceeding which has ludicrous results at times. He was the first to introduce the motive of the *pundonor*, which was to play such an important part in the next period.

This brings to an end the period of preparation. Surveying the field, one notices poetry rich in forms and

experience, but poor in inspiration ; and prose a flexible instrument capable in a short time of being used for the highest things. If the period of preparation was not great, at least it has the glory of being the age which saw the composition of the *Coplas de Manrique* and of Pérez de Guzmán's *Generaciones y semblanzas*.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

The origin of the *romances viejos* may be studied in *El romancero español*, a series of lectures by Ramón Menéndez Pidal (Hispanic Society of America, 1910), and a good collection of texts will be found in *Spanish Ballads*, by G. Le Strange (Camb., 1920). *Trobador* literature is outlined in H. J. Chaytor's *Troubadours* (Camb., 1912). Reference should also be made to Menéndez y Pelayo's *Antología*, vols. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 12. An outline of *Amadís* is given in vol. 72 of the *Colección de los mejores autores antiguos y modernos* (Perlado Páez y Cía, Arenal 11, Madrid).

CHAPTER IV

EL SIGLO DE ORO

(1580-1700)

IF the period just described was one of preparation, that now to be treated was one of fulfilment. It is indeed the Golden Age of Spanish literature. But its causes were not national, for corresponding movements took place in England and France, and one must look for its origin to the development of the Renaissance. The 16th century was an age of tremendous energy. Towards the end of the Middle Ages the increase of knowledge speeded up, and progress in one direction supplied the key to rapid advance in others. Important geographical discoveries led to the growth of a spirit of adventure and to the casting away of the trammels of old tradition, while the opening up of the stores of ancient Greek and Roman learning produced a new outlook on art, literature, and philosophy and gave a stimulus to men of letters.

Political events provided subject matter of a depth of interest never before known. Spain suddenly found herself the conqueror of a New World and the leader of the nations of Europe. As Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, her king settled the policy on which the destinies of many peoples hung, while her soldiers performed deeds of valour in three continents. In such circumstances it is no wonder that her poets and historians found abundant inspiration and her dramatists a field which enabled them to reach sublime heights.

History.—In the American sphere the historical writers are so numerous that only a few can be mentioned here. Columbus' *Letters*, which have already been dealt with in the

previous chapter, were the first narrative of exploration and conquest in the New World. HERNÁN CORTÉS, the conqueror of Mexico, left a similar account of his deeds in his *Cortas relaciones* addressed to Charles V. Written in a brief, official style, they have been thought to bear some resemblance to Cæsar's *Gallic Wars*. His theme was treated more comprehensively by his chaplain FRANCISCO LÓPEZ DE GOMARA (1511–57), the second part of whose *Historia general de las Indias* is really a biography of the conqueror of Mexico. Gomara, who was for a time Professor of Rhetoric at Alcalá, was a man of culture and wrote in a pleasing style ; but his hero-worship allowed him to see only the virtues of Cortés. In consequence, his version was answered by that of a plain soldier, one BERNAL DÍAZ DEL CASTILLO (1491–1581 ?), who in his *Historia verdadera de la conquista de Nueva España* (1580), tried to give the rank and file their due share of fame. His style is verbose, but sincere, and imbued with the simple faith of the early chronicles.

Some writers endeavoured to give a more comprehensive account of the Indies. As early as 1525 Pedro Mártir wrote a general description of the people and their history. In the same year GONZALO HERNÁNDEZ DE OVIEDO Y VALDÉS (1478–1557) published a *Sumario de la natural y g neral istoria de las Indias*, a work which the author intended to amplify in his *Historia natural y general de las Indias*. Only a part of this appeared, and it is inferior to his *Sumario*. This was a systematic work, based on facts which the colonial governors were instructed to furnish. More interesting is the work of BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS (1474–1566), who, as bishop of Chiapa, set himself to ameliorate the condition of the natives of the Indies. His two books, *Brevissima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (1552)—addressed to Philip II—and *La historia de las Indias*, somewhat overstate the cruelty of Spanish settlers towards the Indians and they have created great feeling against Spain in times past ; but they achieved their purpose and

moreover remain as a record of facts which are found nowhere else. The last general history of the Indies was that of JOSÉ DE ACOSTA, published in 1590. Its field is so wide that Feijoo has called Acosta 'the Pliny of the New World,' and indeed its interest is scientific rather than historical; but its plain and straightforward style makes it a readable book.

Other writers devoted themselves to particular regions of the New World. Some like Francisco Cervantes de Salazar and Bernardo de Sahagún dealt with the history of Mexico; while Pedro Aguado wrote two books on the areas to-day occupied by the republics of Colombia and Venezuela. More interesting are the works of the so-called Inca GARCILASO DE LA VEGA, the son of a Spanish nobleman and a Peruvian lady who was a cousin of the Inca Atahualpa. Acquiring from his mother's side a knowledge not possessed by Europeans and inheriting the literary qualities of his father's family, he paints a picture of Peru and its people in an interesting, though no doubt exaggerated manner. The best of his books is his *Comentarios reales* (1609), which is a valuable storehouse of Inca legend and customs.

Meanwhile, the activities of the Spanish armies in Europe gave scope to many writers. Reference has already been made to the *Breve parte de las hazañas del Gran Capitán* (1527) by Hernán Pérez del Pulgar, which dealt with the invasion of Italy under the Catholic Sovereigns. The Granadine wars of the same period were described by DIEGO HURTADO DE MENDOZA in a work that has become a classic. Written in the style of Livy, it set a high standard for Spanish prose and paved the way for Mariana, de Solís, and in later times Quintana. The following is an extract:

Mas la gente con la ociosidad, hambre y descomodidad de aposentos comenzó a adolecer y morir. Ningún animal hay más delicado que un campo junto, aunque cada hombre por sí sea recio y sufridor de trabajo; cualquier mudanza de aires, de aguas, de mantenimientos, de vinos; cualquier frío, y lluvia, falta de limpieza, de sueño, de

camas, le adolece y deshace ; y al fin todas las enfermedades le son contagiosas. Andaban corrillos, quejas, libertad, derramientos, de soldados por unas y otras partes, que escogían por mejor venir en manos de los enemigos : íbanse cuasi por compañías sin orden ni respeto de capitanes. Como el paradero de estos descontentamientos, o es amotinarse, o desarrancarse pocos a pocos, vino a suceder así hasta quedar las banderas sin hombres ; y tan adelante pasó la desorden, que se juntaron cuatrocientos arcabuceros, y con las mechas en las serpentinias salieron a vista del campo : fué D. Diego Fajardo hijo del Marqués por detenerlos, a quien dieron por respuesta un arcabuzazo en la mano y el costado, de que peligró y quedó manco. La mayor parte de la gente que el Marqués envió con él, se juntó con ellos y fueron de compañía ; tanto en tan breve tiempo había crecido el odio y desacato.

The reader will notice the clearness, the measured cadence, and the loftiness of expression of the passage as a whole. It is a fine example of the attainments of Spanish prose at this time. The writer is an artist who can call to his aid striking metaphors like *ningún animal*, or pregnant terseness as in *andaban corrillos, quejas, libertad*, etc., and he knows how to round off a paragraph with a diminuendo period.

The wars of Carlos V in Germany were related by Luís de Ávila y Zúñiga in a work which may be briefly called *Comentario* and which was published in 1548. The story of the Spanish occupation of the Netherlands was told by Carlos Coloma. But, with the exception of Mendoza, none of these authors rise above a humble mediocrity.

The old chronicles had died with the Catholic Sovereigns, yet an extension of them survived till the beginning of the 17th century. Florián de Ocampo redacted one of the versions of the *Grande e general estoria* of Alfonso el Sabio, and the redaction was completed by Ambrosio de Morales. Histories of the reign of Carlos V were written by Alfonso de Santa Cruz and by the better-known Pedro Mexía, while one of the reign of Philip II was written by Luís Cabrera de Córdoba and published in 1619. This date fixes the end of chronicle-writing, even in the changed style of the 16th century. The passing of the old spirit is

shown by the burlesque *Crónica istoria* (1527) written by Francesillo de Zuñiga, the official jester of the court of Carlos V.

Towards the end of the century, history began to be placed on a more modern footing. The first work which shows clear signs of critical sense and artistic aims was the *Anales de la corona de Aragón* by GERÓNIMO ZURITA (1512-80). The same method was adopted by JUAN DE MARIANA (1535-1624), a writer whose *Historia de España*, composed first in Latin and then in Castilian, remained for centuries without a rival in its theme. The original is a monumental work, but the author issued an abridgement in 1600. Basing his style on Livy and Tacitus, Mariana sought his facts in documents, inscriptions, early chronicles, and all other available written sources, but he was not always sufficiently critical in his use of early legend. His chief virtue lies in his treatment of the Peninsula as a united whole.

The account of Spanish historical writings during the Golden Age closes with the works of ANTONIO DE SOLÍS Y RIVADENEYRA (1596-1661). Following in the footsteps of Mendoza and Mariana, he wrote a *Historia de la conquista de México* in which he combined historical judgment in selection and treatment with a concise, yet lofty style. If his work lacks the classical virtue of the *Guerra de Granada* and the comprehensive treatment of a focus of interest which is evident in Mariana's *Historia*, yet it is a worthy example of the heights to which historical composition had climbed in Spain during the age of her political greatness.

Didactic Works.—Meanwhile, Spanish scholarship was fast raising its standard. The impulse came from Italy and from Holland where Erasmus was founding a new school of thought. An Italian education produced the great scholar ANTONIO DE NEBRIJA (1441-1522), who, as he himself says, was the first to teach Latin in Spain. His *Latin Grammar* does not concern us, but his *Arte de la lengua castellana* is a landmark in Spanish literature and philosophy. Nebrija

was also one of the chief translators and editors of Cardinal Cisneros' famous *Poliglota complutense*, or Polyglot Bible, which contains parallel versions in Castilian, Latin, and Hebrew or Greek, arranged in three columns. Nebrija's work was continued in *El diálogo de la lengua* (1534-36), a work sometimes attributed to Juan López de Velasco. It is probably due, however, to JUAN DE VALDÉS (?-1541), who also wrote a *Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón* sharply criticising abuses in the Church. The style is simple and free from affectation and has been thought worthy of comparison with that of Cervantes.

Other writers followed a different path towards the objective of education. ANTONIO DE GUEVARA (1480 ?-1545) wrote a *Reloj de príncipes*, a kind of historical novel intended to set a moral standard. The book won great popularity not only in Spain, but throughout western Europe. Its English version by Lord Berners (1532) under the title of *Dial of Princes* is supposed to have given rise to the literary mannerisms known as 'euphuism' from their use by John Lyly in his *Euphues*. The best known passage is the story of the peasant of the Danube, in which a German rustic demands of the Roman senate the natural rights of man. La Fontaine afterwards used the story in one of his *Fables*. Guevara also wrote the *Menosprecio de corte y alabanza de aldea*, in which life in the capital is compared unfavourably with life in the provinces, and some *Epístolas familiares* couched in an inflated style and really being essays on various subjects, such as the privileges of old age. A historical work, *Una década de la vida de los diez Césares*, reflects contemporary interest in classical studies. Guevara's *Reloj de príncipes* was followed in 1640 by the *Empresas políticas* of DIEGO DE SAAVEDRA FAJARDO (1584-1648). This work contains a hundred and one essays on the education of princes and various affairs of state. It did not affect the popularity of the *Reloj de príncipes*, which held its place until the publication of Fenelon's *Télémaque*. Fajardo also produced a *República literaria*,

in which he represents himself as seeing a vision of a state peopled by the great figures of Art, Literature, and Science.

Collections of proverbs and popular sayings were frequently made during this period. The best of these is the *Vocabulario de refranes* by Gonzalo de Correas, but Juan de Mal Lara, who is also known as a dramatist, published a collection in 1568 under the title of *Filosofía vulgar*.

The writers on religion play an important part in the literature of the time. The greatest of them was JUAN DE ÁVILA (1500-69) who has been recently canonised. His *Libro espiritual* (1580), written for a nun, is an extensive commentary on and amplification of Psalm xlv. It well illustrates the mystic and ascetic character of the Spanish Church. But Ávila's best work is his *Epistolario espiritual para todos estados*, a collection of letters for the guidance of his pupils. Ávila did not write for publication, but his sincerity, depth of thought, and brilliance of style have made his writings popular for devotional reading in Spain. Equally popular was the *Guía de pecadores* (1567) by LUIS DE GRANADA (1504-88). It is in reality a collection of sermons written in a rhetorical style, but as an ethical work it is nevertheless sound. Other mystical writers were Santa Teresa de Jesús (1515-82), whose style is simple and familiar, and San Juan de la Cruz (1542-91), the author of *Obras espirituales*.

Two other scholars remain to be mentioned. The first is Benito Arias Montano, a mystic who is best known as a translator and editor of the Polyglot Bible and as the chief collector of books for the library of the Escorial. The other ranks with Cervantes, Mendoza, and Mariana, as one of the classical writers of the age. This was BALTASAR GRACIÁN Y MORALES (1601-58). *El héroe* (1637) belongs to the same type as the *Reloj de príncipes*, though its aim is moral rather than educational. Like Fajardo's *Empresas*, it attacks Machiavelli's principles. *El criticón* is Gracián's chief work. A moral treatise, it consists of three parts dealing separately with youth, middle, and old age. Its

style reflects the bad taste which the *conceptistas* were introducing into Spanish literature, and the success of the book helped to establish the mannerisms of *conceptismo*.

The Novel.—The rise of the novel from the chronicle in the 15th century has been described, and the development of the chivalresque form traced in the previous chapter. In the present period, besides the later issues of the chivalresque novel, three other kinds are found: the Moorish, the pastoral, and the picaresque. In the first class are only two books, the anonymous *Historia del Abencerraje y la hermosa Jarifa* licensed in 1551 and *La historia de los vandos de los Zegries y Abencerrajes* published in 1595 by Ginés Pérez de Hita. They are a development from the *Crónica sarazina* and the *Atalaya de las crónicas*, which were mentioned in the last chapter as largely fictitious chronicles. Like their forerunners, they have a background of historical truth, but they have a fictitious plot imposed on it. Interesting and still readable, they represent all that was produced of the historical novel until the influence of Scott began to work in the early 19th century.

Both the pastoral and the picaresque novel have their roots in Juan Ruíz's *Libro de buen amor*, though each type comes from a different element in that poem. The pastoral novel is a development of the sentimental *canticas de serrana*, which, of course, were not the exclusive possession of Juan Ruíz. Santillana and other poets of the courtly school composed them, while the *Eclogues* of Juan del Encina enlarged the themes. The idea of amplifying stories of rustic love and of setting them out in prose was due to the Spanish-Italian Jacopo Sannazzaro, whose *Arcadia* was the first pastoral novel. This book, which was the original of Sidney's work of the same name, became so well known that even to-day its title is used to indicate the ideal of country bliss. It was translated into Spanish in 1549 and probably influenced the Portuguese Bernaldín Ribeiro in his *Menina e moça*. Although this was not really a true pastoral novel, yet in turn it influenced another

Portuguese, JORGE DE MONTEMÔR (1520–61). In the suite of doña María, the bride of Philip II, this writer became attached to the court, remaining in Spain even after the death of the queen. He wrote poems, mostly in Castilian, and translated into the same tongue the *Cantos de amor* of the Catalan Ausías March. He is known to literature, however, chiefly for his novel, *Los siete libros de la Diana*, which was published in 1559. The plot is complicated. A shepherdess Diana is loved by two shepherds, Sireno and Silvano, and is herself in love with the former. During his absence, however, she marries a third swain. Sireno and Silvano in despair set off from home. On the way they are attacked by savages, but are rescued by the efforts of Felismena. This lady, disguised as a page, was serving her lover Felix, as Viola serves Orsino in *Twelfth Night*, and carried messages of love to his lady Celia. Celia falls in love with Felismena and dies on being rejected. Felix, Felismena, and the two shepherds flee away in search of the enchantress Felicia, who entertains them and gives them a love-potion by means of which all the entanglements of passion are straightened out. The novel at once became popular throughout western Europe. Shakspeare used the episode of Felix and Felismena for the plot of *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and Young translated the whole work into English. The prose style is simple and unaffected, terse and expressive, but the book suffers from over-sentimentality and its whole atmosphere is artificial.

As commonly happened with successful books in Spain at this period, *Diana* was given a sequel by other writers. Alonso Pérez published in 1564 a *Segunda parte de la Diana*, a weak and worthless book. The *Primera parte de Diana enamorada*, which was published in the same year by Gaspar Gil Polo, was better received. This writer was more skilful than Montemôr in his descriptions of the countryside, and his verses interspersed among the episodes are superior to those in *Diana*.

The next author to embark on the pastoral novel was

MIGUEL DE CERVANTES SAAVEDRA, whose *Galatea* was an early work published in 1585 and hardly worthy of the author of *Don Quixote*. Its plot is disjointed, and is merely a peg on which to hang quips and clever sayings. A number of minor novels appeared; but the pastoral, like the chivalresque form, had produced its best work first; and after *Diana* they greatly depreciated. A few may be mentioned: *Desengaño de celos* (1586) by Bartolomé López del Encino, *El pastor de Iberia* (1591) by Bernardo de la Vega, *Cintia de Aranivez* (1629) by Gabriel de Corral, and *Los pastores del Betis* (1633) by Gonzalo de Saavedra. The artificiality of the form caused its downfall. Its characters were highly idealised shepherds living in a world that never existed, and never will exist, and at the present day the type appears mawkish in its sentiment and ponderous in style.

The picaresque or rogue novel traces its descent from the comic aspects of the *Libro de buen amor*, through *Celestina*. It came into being in the 16th century as a counterblast to the sentimental and idealistic notions of the pastoral novel and it therefore took a cynical view of human nature and painted the ugly aspects of society. Wholly Spanish in origin, it has spread to other countries, especially to England and the United States of America. Introduced into the former by Smollett and naturalised by Fielding, it has found its modern exponent in Dickens. In America Mark Twain has been greatly successful with the type, especially in *Huckleberry Finn*. The rogue story is a narrative, properly in the first person, of some unfortunate who is as usually up to knavish tricks and who shows up the weak points in the various characters with whom he comes into contact.

The first of the type was *Lazarillo de Tormes*, a short work published anonymously at Antwerp in 1553 or 1554. In it an urchin becomes the servant one after the other of a blind man, a priest, a beggarly gentleman, a friar, a pardoner, a chaplain, and a policeman, on all of whom he plays various tricks. The real object of the work was to

depict the weakness of various classes of society, and the author has succeeded marvellously well. Although his selected characters are out-of-date, his pictures of them so clearly reflect universal touches of human nature that the book is still fresh. The style is racy and terse, adorned here and there by alliteration and word-play. The following passage will give an idea of plain contemporary prose :

Estando en esta afligida y hambrienta persecución un día, no sé por cual dicha o ventura, en el pobre poder de mi amo entró un real, con el cual vino a casa tan ufano, como si tuviera el tesoro de Venecia, y con gesto muy alegre y risueño me lo dió, diciendo : ' Toma, Lázaro, que Dios ya ua abriendo su mano : vé a la plaza, y merca pan y vino y carne ; quebramos el ojo al diablo : y más te hago saber, porque te huélgues, que he alquilado otra casa, y en esta desastrada no hemos de estar más de en cumpliendo el mes. Maldita sea ella y el que en ella puso la primera teja, que con mal en ella entré. Por nuestro Señor, cuanto ha que en ella vivo, gota de vino ni bocado de carne no he comido, ni he habido descanso ninguno, mas tal vista tiene, y tal oscuridad y tristeza : vé y ven presto, y comamos hoy como condes.' Tomo mi real y jarro, y a los pies dándoles priesa, comienzo a subir mi calle, encaminando mis pasos para la plaza muy contento y alegre. Mas ¿ qué me aprovecha, si está concluido en mi triste fortuna, que ningún gozo me venga sin zozobra ? Y así fué este, porque yendo la calle arriba, echando mi cuenta en lo que le emplearía que fuese mejor y más provechosamente gastado, dando infinitas gracias a Dios que a mi amo había hecho con dinero, a deshora me vino al encuentro un muerto, que por la calle abajo muchos clérigos y gente en unas andas traían. Arriméme a la pared por darles lugar, y desque el cuerpo pasó, venía luego par del lecho una que debía ser la mujer del defunto, cargada, de luto y con ella otras muchas mujeres ; la cual iba llorando a grandes voces, y diciendo : ' Marido y señor mío, ¿ a dónde os me llevan ! ¿ a la casa triste y desdichada, a la casa lóbrega y oscura, a la casa donde nunca comen ni beben ! ' Yo que aquello oí, juntóseme el cielo con la tierra, y dije : ' ¡ Oh desdichado de mí ! ¿ para mi casa llevan este muerto ! '

Lazarillo was at once banned by the Inquisition, but its popularity caused the issue of an expurgated edition in 1578. Naturally, sequels appeared ; but they are of little value. The next writer was MATEO ALEMÁN (1547-1614), who seems to have studied at various universities with

equal futility. Failing to become a doctor of medicine, he attained a small post as accountant. In 1580 he was imprisoned for debt in the Cárcel Real, whence he acquired a wide knowledge of the criminal classes. On his release he wrote *Guzmán de Alfarache*, a longer work than *Lazarillo*, in which he used his knowledge of rogues to describe the vicissitudes of fortune of his little hero. The style is clear and fluent, but many of the episodes are coarse and cynical. Nevertheless, the book was a great success, passing through twenty editions in a few years.

The tendency to moralise which is noted in *Guzmán de Alfarache* was carried to excess in Francisco López de Úbeda's *Picara Justina* (1605), and Vincente Espinel's *Relaciones de la vida del escudero Marcos de Obregón* (1618), both of which are long-winded and dull. Not so the *Historia de la vida del Buscón*, which appeared in 1626, and which generally goes by the name of *El gran tacaño*. The author was FRANCISCO DE QUEVEDO Y VILLEGAS (1580-1645), who, like Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, was an important personage in the politics of his country. Beginning life as a writer, he was driven abroad by unfortunate circumstances and took refuge with the Duke of Osuna in Sicily. As the Duke's emissary he was in Venice at the time of the famous Conspiracy and nearly lost his life. Prospering under his protector, he came into favour at court on the death of Philip III and became secretary to the king. He was the author of many works on philosophy, politics, and religion, and he was a poet of some distinction, but his main output was satirical. His fame has lived chiefly through his rogue novel, which has been through many editions and been translated into many languages. Its style is direct and does not suffer from the over-refinement of Quevedo's other prose works. But many of the incidents are coarse and brutal, a failing which seems to be inevitable in this form of literature.

The rogue novel lasted throughout the period. Among the minor writers who carried on the tradition were Alonso

Gerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, whose *Hija de Celestina* was published in 1612, and whose *Curioso sabio Alejandro* appeared in 1634; Alonso de Castillo Salórzano, who produced four books: *La niña de los embustes*, *Teresa de Manzanares*, *Las aventuras del bachiller Trapaza*, and *La garduña de Sevilla*. The form was one of the few to continue into the 18th century.

The Novel Perfected—Cervantes.—The paths along which novel writing has diverged unite in MIGUEL DE CERVANTES SAAVEDRA. The genius of this great writer rose above types and combined in his works the pastoral, chivalresque, and picaresque tale. Moreover, he has given not only to Spain, but to the whole world one of the greatest of literary creations. So widespread are his fame and popularity that a special term—*cervantista*—has been invented to denote students and lovers of his works. This importance justifies special treatment in a section devoted entirely to his literary productions.

Cervantes was a close contemporary of Shakspeare. Slightly older, he died not merely in the same year, but on the same day as the great dramatist. It is a curious fact that two men who have excelled all others in the principal literary forms should have coincided so closely in date. Cervantes was a gentleman by birth, though his father had come down somewhat in the world and was a travelling physician. Many towns have claimed the honour of being his birthplace, but modern scholarship has definitely awarded the claim to Alcalá de Henares. The day of his birth is unknown, but he was baptised on October 9, 1547. The nature of his father's occupation made the son's formal education a very sketchy affair at most; but no doubt the lad gained on his travels a knowledge of the lower classes which was to form a large part of his future literary capital. He must have been an eager reader, for it was probably at this early period that he gained his wide acquaintance with the literature of his country.

His period of manhood falls into three divisions: eleven

years of activity as a soldier or as a captive among the Moors, twenty-five years of struggling poverty, and eleven years of great literary production while he enjoyed the patronage of the Conde de Lemos.

Like so many young men of his country, he began life by going to Italy, where he entered the household of Cardinal Julio Acquaviva in 1569. In the following year he became a soldier and served in the famous *tercio* of Diego de Urbina on board the galley *Marquesa* at the battle of Lepanto. He distinguished himself in the great fight and received three wounds. These did not disable him, and in 1573 he took part in the Tunis campaign in the *tercio* of Lope de Figueroa, whose portrait has been painted for us by Calderón in *El alcalde de Zalamea* (see page 155). His distinguished services had won him a recommendation for promotion from don Juan of Austria, and he was on his way to claim advancement, when he was captured by Algerine pirates. Mistaken for a man of rank and wealth, he was held at a large ransom and for five years was unable to redeem his liberty. His activity seems to have given great trouble to his captors, for he was always the centre of a sort of escaping club; nevertheless, he appears to have been held in some respect by the Moors. At last, in 1580, he was ransomed by a great stroke of good luck.

Spain was at this time overcrowded with ex-soldiers, and his claims on his country met with little recognition. At first, he began by taking to literature. During his campaigns he seems to have written sonnets from time to time. Now he turned to prose and in 1585 he published a pastoral novel *La Galatea* which has been described above. Then he remembered the dramatic efforts of Lope de Rueda, whom he had seen acting in his youth, and he tried his hand at play-writing. The works which he produced will be described in a later section. They assisted the growth of the drama to some extent, but the author had not discovered the secrets of technique which are necessary to good plays. Moreover, dramatic writings received little

cash return, and Cervantes had married in the meantime. His wife, a lady named doña Catalina de Salazar y Palacios, brought him a small dowry, but he was soon forced to accept official employment in Sevilla at a meagre salary. His duties appear to have been the collection of stores for the Invincible Armada, and he seems to have performed his duties efficiently. Unfortunately, he was no hand at keeping accounts, and he got into trouble with his auditors, being actually put into prison during the clearing up of the matter. The loss of his employment reduced him to poverty, and he seems to have lived in very squalid circumstances for over ten years. The final blow came in Valladolid, when he was actually suspected of the murder of a young rake.

In spite of his poverty, he seems to have spent some time in writing, and by 1604 he had finished the first part of his great novel, *Don Quijote*, the publication of which not merely brought him considerable funds, but also procured for him a name and the patronage of the Conde de Lemos. He therefore moved to Madrid, where he formed or renewed acquaintance with Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina, and other chief writers of the day. His literary activity now underwent a great outburst and he published work after work. A second attempt at play-writing was a failure and convinced him that his forte lay in prose. Like most other writers of his day, he tended towards religion in his old age and in 1609 he joined the brotherhood of the Esclavos del Santísimo Sacramento. He died in Madrid on April 23, 1616.

It often happens that great writers lay little store by the kind of literature in which they excel. Lope de Vega, the great dramatist, did not regard his plays as literature at all, but prided himself on his narrative poems, which posterity esteems of small value. Cervantes, Spain's greatest prose writer, ardently desired to be a great poet. From early manhood till the end of his life he had an itch for scribbling sonnets and other verses, some of which indeed

are not bad. Many were the dedicatory lines addressed to various writers or to noble patrons, and now and again these are successful as verse, though they do not rise to the standard of good poetry. Some of the pieces inserted in *Don Quijote* are fine examples of his work. On one occasion he even attempted a long poem, *El viage del Parnaso* (1614), which contains eight cantos. It is a satirical poem in *terza rima*, imitating the *Viaggio in Parnaso* of the Italian Cesare Caporali, but longer than the original. It describes the call of Apollo to all good poets to help in expelling the bad poets from Parnassus. Mercury is sent to Cervantes to consult him about Spanish poets and gets his opinions about them. The work has practically no merit, and the interest even of *cervantistas* is confined to the parts in which he speaks about his own writings.

Contemporary opinion on the poetry of Cervantes was the same as ours. A publisher refused to buy his *Ocho comedias*, saying that he would have accepted them *si un autor de título no le hubiera dicho que de mi prosa se podía esperar mucho, pero que del verso nada*. This frank criticism, which has been recorded by Cervantes himself, hardly overstates the facts, for the great writer would have been forgotten among the crowd of petty versifiers had he confined himself to poetry. Fortunately for the world he did not. From as early as 1600, if not before, he was sketching scenes and characters within his personal experience; but none of these were published as yet. The writer overwhelmed in poverty felt somewhat bitter at his own want of success, while works which he considered inferior to his own products were being widely read. His bitterness seems to have fastened on the *libros de caballería* and he determined to write a satire on them. The result was *La Primera Parte del Ingenioso Hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*, which was published at Madrid in 1605. The work begins as a parody on the *libros de caballería* and remains in fact the culminating effort in that genre; but the author, writing by inspiration and with no clearly defined plan in

his mind, became gradually enamoured of his theme, put his original intention in the background, and widened his field into the universality of genius. The story, known to all, is that of a Spanish country gentleman whose mind becomes unhinged by the constant reading of chivalresque novels and who leaves his home equipped as a medieval knight to go about and right wrongs. Naturally, comic situations arise out of the clash of madness with reality and idealism with materialism, and in the end the knight is taken home by his friends to be kept in safety. The book is a string of episodes and contains long digressions on literary criticisms, politics, and philosophy. Short stories, like *El curioso impertinente* and *La historia del cautivo*—a tale based on the author's experiences in Algiers,—and a few verses are included on slight pretexts in the main theme.

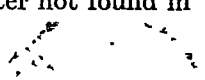
The popularity of the work was immediate. No fewer than five editions were issued in the same year, and sixteen in all appeared during the remaining eleven years of the author's life. Not everyone was pleased with its contents, however, and in 1614 a certain Avellaneda, encouraged by a vague promise of a sequel at the end of *La Primera Parte*, published a second part in which the adventures of the knight are continued in the same strain. The book has many merits and its real quality is proved by its ability to stand comparison with the work of Cervantes. It is a pity that its author did not use his talent on a subject of his own, instead of trespassing on unknown ground belonging to someone else and on which he was naturally at a disadvantage. We should like to know who Avellaneda was, but his identity has remained one of the mysteries of literary history.

In his foreword, Avellaneda makes a scurrilous personal attack on Cervantes, and this, together with annoyance at the trespass on his subject, stung the great novelist into putting a rapid finish to a second part which he had been working up for some time. This work was published in October, 1615, and was dedicated to the Conde de Lemos.

There is no question in it of parodying the *libros de caballería*, and the plane of thought is above that of the first part. It is not so well known abroad, where abridgements of the adventures in Part I are issued for the amusement of children. But it has a greater vigour and freedom of style and better finish. Its philosophy too is deeper, and the conceptions of the immortal characters of don Quijote and Sancho Panza are fuller and more clearly defined. There are still digressions on literary criticism and other subjects, but tales do not find a place, perhaps because Cervantes had already exhausted his stock in his *Novelas ejemplares*. The end is rather hurried and shows marks of haste due to a desire to publish the work and overcome Avellaneda's rivalry; but this does not do any real harm to the book. The hero is killed at the end in order to prevent further piracy by future Avellanedas.

The world has decided that *El Quijote*—as it is usually called by Spaniards—is one of the great books of literature. It has its defects, of course. The gradual growth and formation of the author's ideas as the work developed caused the plan to be disjointed. For this reason, the plot is indistinct and blurred. No one thinks of *El Quijote* as a story, but rather as a portrait of two characters of universal interest. The same cause has led to the introduction of irreconcilable facts and anachronisms. But these petty faults in detail pass unnoticed. More serious is the defect of prolixity, a failing which is characteristic of Cervantes, but indeed one to which his age was peculiarly liable. One cannot help thinking that the book would have been improved by the omission of some of the digressions and by wise compression here and there.

On the other hand, the virtues of the book are numerous and prominent, far outweighing all its defects. Above all the depiction of the characters of knight and squire, which have placed Sancho and his master among the first dozen great characters of fiction. Like Shakspeare, Cervantes had the knack of portraying a depth of character not found in



any other writer, and the reader gets to know don Quijote and Sancho as well as, or better than, he knows his living friends. The high idealism and lofty principles of the knight are in direct opposition to the practical sense and materialism of the lowly Sancho ; and yet the two men are complementary, the former representative of one side of human nature, the latter of the other. Both are pre-eminently Spaniards, but their raciness is combined with a universality that has made them kin to the whole world. Perhaps this quality is due to the humour which pervades the book, for no writer has shown a greater sense of humour than Cervantes. He has indeed shown how to treat life, having perhaps learnt the lesson himself during the dark days of poverty in Seville and Valladolid.

The style of the book is easy, fluent, and sincere. There are eloquent passages, of which the following is an example:

La libertad, Sancho, es uno de los más preciosos dones que a los hombres dieron los cielos ; con ella no pueden igualarse los tesoros que encierra la tierra ni el mar encubre : por la libertad, así por la honra, se puede y debe aventurar la vida ; y, por el contrario, el cautiverio es el mayor mal que puede venir a los hombres. Digo esto, Sancho porque bien has visto el regalo, la abundancia que en este castillo que dejamos hemos tenido ; pues en mitad de aquellos banquetes sazonados y de aquellas bebidas de nieve me parecía a mí que estaba metido entre las estrechezas de la hambre, porque no lo gozaba con la libertad que lo gozara si fueran míos ; que las obligaciones de los beneficios y mercedes recibidas son ataduras que no dejan campear al ánimo libre. ¡ Venturoso aquel a quien el cielo dió un pedazo de pan, sin que le quede obligación de agradecerlo a otro que al mismo cielo !

But as a rule the tone is conversational. The language is vigorous and picturesque, and all the descriptions are clear. Lofty philosophy is easily blended with homely saws. The Spanish love of sententiousness is seen in the vast collection of proverbs, of which there are some four hundred, and other pithy sayings and epigrams which make the book a mine of wisdom. This feature is greater in the second part than in the first, where the adventures and episodes occupy the first place.

Between the issue of the two parts of *El Quijote*, Cervantes published a collection of tales under the general title of *Novelas ejemplares*. This book, which came out at Madrid in 1613, marks a definite stage in the development of literature. *Yo soy el primero que he novelado en lengua castellana*, claims the author. This phrase, which is seemingly inaccurate, contains important germs of truth, for Cervantes means that he is the first to write in Spain original short stories as distinct from those in the Italian manner of Boccaccio, Sannazaro, and Bandello. But the publication of the *Novelas* has greater significance, for its separate stories indicate a final breach with the medieval tradition of stringing its tales together on a main story as Juan Ruíz and Juan Manuel had done. Henceforth, the novelette can stand by itself and need not be a mere pendant, like *El curioso impertinente*, to some larger work.

The title given to the book is ironical. These 'tales with a moral purpose' are often coarse and tend to anything but edification. But they are redeemed by their humour and their true reproduction of life. Written at various times, they are different in aim and style, but they are all original and bear the author's stamp of genius. The style is good, at times even eloquent; and there are excellent descriptions of persons and places. The tales are twelve in number and fall into four groups: 1. Realistic pictures of lower class life (*Rinconete y Cortadillo*, *La ilustre fregona*, *El casamiento engañoso*, *El celoso extremeño*); 2. descriptions of middle and upper class life (*La gitanilla*, *La española inglesa*, *Las dos doncellas*); 3. purely fictitious tales, not unlike those of the Italian school and far inferior to the rest (*El amante liberal*, *La fuerza de la sangre*, *La señora Cornelia*); 4. didactic stories (*El licenciado Vidriera*, *El coloquio de los perros*). A thirteenth tale, *La tía fingida*, is thought not to have been written by Cervantes.

It is these tales which give Cervantes' work a claim to represent every type of novel known to Spanish literature at the time. *La gitanilla*, the best of them, is a pastoral tale

with fine descriptions of country life. Its success is as great as the failure of *La Galatea*, the avowed pastoral novel, because its scenes are real and its characters living beings, while in the longer work the whole atmosphere is artificial and the characters wooden. Its plot of a girl of good birth who has been brought up among gipsies and who ends by regaining her station owing to the efforts of a lover has been imitated even recently in England. *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, on the other hand, is a pure picaresque novel and paints the life of thieves and criminals in Seville. The picture is most realistic, and the style is plain, sincere, and expressive. Although hardly a novel, *El licenciado Vidriera* is interesting and important for the autobiographical details which it is supposed to contain. The hero, Tomás Rodaja, begins life as a serving-student at Salamanca University and afterwards goes to the wars in Italy and Flanders. It is believed that in all this there is a foundation of the author's own life. The rest of the story consists of satire on the professions of the day and, as it does not suffer from verbosity, can be read with pleasure and profit.

Generally speaking, the *Novelas ejemplares* are not far inferior to *El Quijote* and would have made their author famous had not his longer work rendered their aid unnecessary. The same tribute cannot be paid to *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, a novel of adventure which was published posthumously in 1617. Intended to be a serious novel, it was meant to show that the author of *El Quijote* did not depend for his success on his humour. But it was a total failure and is worse reading even than *La Galatea*. Based on Greek fiction, it is an account of fantastic and incredible adventures of a prince of Iceland and a princess of Friesland. The geography is of the wildest nature, and historical truth is thrown to the winds. Adventure is tacked on to adventure in a loose and disjointed manner, and the characters are mere dolls without a spark of human nature. It is a pity that the author of *El Quijote* wound up his career with such a bad book.

In the end, however, he there remains the author of *Don Quijote*, and as such he claims our regard as the creator of the Knight of the Sorrowful Countenance. His great work has been translated into almost every civilised language and has gone through a multitude of editions. A whole library has been written on his life, on the text of his works, and on problems arising out of them. The *cervantistas* of three continents have united in spilling ink by bucketfuls over such details as the true birth-town of Cervantes, the authenticity of portraits supposed to be of him, and the true references of topical allusions in *Don Quijote*. Others have wrangled over the question whether the piece was written in gaol or not, while the very purpose of the book, though explicitly stated by the writer himself, has formed the subject of controversy. Ingenious wits have seen far-reaching political allegory buried under the story of the knight and his squire, and doubtless as long as his popularity lasts—and it seems likely to endure for ever—these futilities will continue. But other writers, seeking a ready-made advertisement, have sought to copy the work of the great novelist. Most of these imitations, like *La vida y empresas literarias de don Quijote de la Manchuela* (published 1789), by Donato Arenzana, are satirical and aim at destroying, as Cervantes destroyed the *libros de caballería*, some existing abuse. The only one which has attained to any measure of success is *Capítulos que se le olvidaron a Cervantes*, a work by Juan Montalvo, published in 1882. The author has attempted not unsuccessfully to imitate the style and language of Cervantes, and his work is readable.

Lyric Poetry: 1st Phase.—Lyric poetry in the Siglo de Oro passes through three marked phases: a budding-time, a period of maturity, and an age of decay. The first was due to the fertilising power derived from Italy, then in the height of her glory in art and literature; the second to the greatness of Spain's united power; the third to the blight of over-refinement and preciosity which fell upon western Europe in the latter half of the 17th century.

The opening years of the 16th century found the courtly school of Spanish poetry dying of artificiality. Numerous versifiers turned out clever *villancicos*, *canciones*, and other pieces in which form was most important and matter a mere rehash of hackneyed traditional themes. Something was needed to stir these dead bones and quicken the spirit of poetry. The necessary stimulus came by mere chance. JUAN BOSCÁN, the offspring of a noble burgess family in Barcelona, was the instrument. Born before 1500, he studied under the famous scholar Lucio Marineo Siculo, and later joined the court of Castile. Like most young men of his time, he was a soldier and he took part in the abortive expedition to Rhodes in 1522. Apart from his literary pursuits, his only occupation after this seems to have been his tutorship to the afterwards Duke of Alba, famous for his severity in the Netherlands. He married a wealthy lady of good birth, Doña Ana Girón de Rebolledo, with whom he seems to have lived a quiet, happy life. He died in 1542.

During his early years Boscán composed verses in the traditional style of the courtly poets, but being in Granada in 1526 he met the Venetian ambassador, Andrea Navagiero, and had with him a conversation fraught with momentous results for Spanish literature. A report has been given by Boscán himself in a letter to the Duchess of Soma. It is of sufficient importance to deserve quotation :

En este modo de invención (si así quieren llamalla) nunca pensé que inventaba ni hacía cosa que hubiese de quedar en el mundo, sino que entré en ello descuidadamente, como en cosa que iba tan poco en hacella que no había para qué dexalla de hacella, habiéndola gana : quanto más que vino sobre había. Porque estando un día en Granada con el Navagiero (al qual por haber sido tan celebrado en nuestros días le querendo nombralle a señoría) tratando con él en cosas de ingenio y de letras, y especialmente en las variedades de muchas lenguas, me dixo por qué no probaba en lengua castellana sonetos y otros artes de trovas usadas por los buenos autores de Italia ; y no solamente me lo dixo así livianamente, más aún, me rogó que lo hiciese. Partime pocos días después para mi casa, y con la largueza y soledad del camino, discurriendo por diversas cosas fui

a dar muchas veces en lo que el Navagiero me había dicho ; y así comencé a tentar este género de verso. En el qual al principio hallé alguna dificultad, por ser muy artificioso y tener muchas particularidades diferentes del nuestro. Pero después, pareciéndome quizá con el amor de las cosas propias que esto comenzaba a sucerderme bien, fui paso a paso metiéndome con calor en ello. Mas esto no bastara a hacerme pasar muy adelante, si Gracilaso con su juicio, el qual no solamente en mi opinión, mas en la de todo el mundo ha sido tenido por regla cierta, no me confirmara en esta mi demanda. Y así alabándome muchas veces este mi propósito y acabándomelo de aprobar con su exemplo, porque quiso él también llevar este camino, al cabo me hizo ocupar mis ratos ociosos en esto más particularmente.

Thenceforth, Boscán turned to compositions in the Italian style. He introduced the eleven-syllabled verse with iambic measure, the sonnet and the *canzone* of the Petrarchan model, Dante's *terza rima*, and the *ottava rima* of Boccaccio and Ariosto. Most of these forms had been used previously by Spanish poets, but they had lacked success. Now, however, they became naturalised. Boscán's poetic works were published posthumously by his widow in 1548. The volume is divided into four books, of which the first contains *villancicos*, *canciones*, and *coplas* of no great merit, but full of happy and graceful expression. The second book is prefaced by the letter quoted above, which may therefore be regarded as the manifesto of the new school. In the second and third books are found ninety-two sonnets, eleven *canzones*, a *Historia de Leandro y Hero*, an elegy, two didactic epistles in *terza rima*, and a long allegorical poem in octaves. Boscán was not a great poet, but he turned the whole stream of Spanish poetry into a different channel. In this lies his importance in literature.

Probably he would not have succeeded in doing this had not his theories been put into practice by a poet of genius. This was GARCILASO DE LA VEGA, a scion of one of the noblest families of Castile and a nephew of Fernán Pérez de Guzmán. Born at Toledo in 1501, he joined the court in 1520 and fought for the king against the *comuneros*, being wounded at Olías in 1521. In 1522 he took

part in the expedition to Rhodes, during which he made his lifelong friendship with Boscán and the future Duke of Alba. The next year found him campaigning against the French in Navarre. He now spent a short time at court, during which he made a marriage of convenience with doña Elena de Zuñiga and fell in love with doña Isabel Freyre. This lady played a most important part in his literary life and was the *Elisa* of his poems. Her marriage in 1529 and her death in 1533 are bitterly reflected in his work. After a couple of years Garcilaso passed to Italy with Charles V. In 1532, however, he lost the emperor's favour by abetting the marriage of his nephew with Isabel de la Cueva, a member of the empress's suite. For his part in the matter he was imprisoned on an island in the Danube, and afterwards exiled to Naples. There he met many prominent Italians, among others the poet, Mario Galeota, in whose favour he addressed his ode *A la flor de Gnido* to Violante Sanseverino. In 1535 he took part in the attack on Tunis, and in the next year he held an important command in Provence. While heading a storming party with reckless gallantry at the fort of Muy near Fréjus, he was struck on the head with a stone and mortally wounded. Some days later he died at Nice.

Having been led to write Italian measures by Boscán, Garcilaso became more Italian than his friend. In fact, he may be regarded as a Neapolitan poet. He imitated Petrarch, Bembo, Ariosto, and above all Sannazaro, but he also went back to the fountain-head of the classics, to Virgil, Horace, and Theocritus. Writing as he did between the activity of campaigns, *tomando ora la espada, ora la pluma*, as he says, he did not produce much. His known works consist of twenty-five sonnets, five *canzoni*, two elegies, an epistle, and three eclogues. Of these the poem *A la flor de Gnido*, that beginning *Con un manso ruido*, and the first eclogue are pure gems. In the second his thoughts turn sadly to his imprisonment and to the marriage of doña Isabel Freyre. The dialogue of the last, between Nemoroso

and Salicio, is really a monologue, both characters representing the poet. Its subject is his love.

Garcilaso's poems were published in 1548 as the fourth book of Boscán's *Obras*, a fitting arrangement for two men who had worked together. The sweet softness of Garcilaso's verses soon caused them to be issued separately, however, and commentaries were made by the learned Francisco Sánchez (el Brocense), by the poet Herrera, and the pedantic Tamayo de Vargas. If any proof were needed of the popularity of Garcilaso's works, it would be found in the appreciation expressed of them by Lope de Vega and Cervantes.

While Boscán and Garcilaso were establishing the Italian school in Spain, an effort to the same end was being made in Portugal by FRANCISCO SÂ DE MIRANDA (1485-1588). This poet was a friend of Garcilaso, addressing to him his poem *Nemoroso*, and was in love, too, with doña Isabel Freyre. He had read some of Garcilaso's works in manuscript and was no doubt greatly encouraged and influenced by them. His chief work is the eclogue *Alescio*, which is written in eleven-syllabled verses. As a Castilian poet he takes a minor place, but the poems in his own language place him highly in Portuguese literature.

In Spain a good many poets of talent followed the lead of Garcilaso and Boscán. Among these the best is perhaps GUTIERRE DE CETINA (1520-57), who wrote a multitude of light pieces, mostly on the subject of love. His verse is tender and shows a rich imagination in the poet, but it lacks spirit. The madrigal beginning *Ojos claros, serenos* claims a place in every anthology of Spanish lyrics. Cetina's works were not collected till 1895. The only other of the immediate followers of Garcilaso who need be mentioned is HERNANDO DE ACUÑA (1520-80). A courtier, he translated by order of Charles V *Le Chevalier délibéré* of Olivier de la Marche and won a success with his verse. His *Varias poesías*, published by his widow in 1591, comprise *canciones*, madrigals, and sonnets.

The traditional native system of poetry did not lack defenders, however. The leader of these was CRISTÓBAL DE CASTILLEJO (1490-1550), the secretary of Ferdinand, brother of Charles V and king of Hungary. He came little short of being a poetic genius and produced a good deal of verse in the old measures, but his championship was ineffective largely because of his absence from Spain and because his works were not published till 1573. Though a priest, he led a somewhat irregular life and has been compared in this respect to Juan Ruíz by Menéndez y Pelayo. Much of his poetry was on the subject of love, some being addressed to Anna von Schaumburg. He openly denounced the school of Boscán and Garcilaso, calling those poets *Petrarquistas*. His own work is not without a touch of foreign influence, and he succeeded in a happy imitation of Catullus in a little piece beginning *Dame, amor, besos sin cuenta*. But his best work is seen in the old measures, and his imitation of the old romances in *Tiempo es ya, Castillejo*, is usually regarded as his masterpiece. The characteristic note in his poems is freshness and gaiety.

Castillejo was supported in his opposition to the Italianists by ANTONIO DE VILLEGAS, whose work has been collected in a volume known as *El inventario* (1565). His short pieces, written mostly in *décimas*, are alone of any merit. Jorge de Montemôr, who has been mentioned as a prose writer, interspersed in his *Diana* poems of much sweetness. But as a rule the traditionalists were feeble, and the old Castilian forms disappeared, except the *quintilla*, the *décima*, and the *romance*. When the contest became formal, as it did in Argote de Molina's *Discurso de la poesía castellana* in 1575, the old school found champions in Lope de Vega and Quevedo, but the issue was already decided, and former traditionalists like GREGORIO SILVESTRE, the organist at Granada, were gradually going over to the new school.

Among these transitional poets was Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, the author of *La guerra de Granada*. Scholar

that he was, Mendoza could not help being influenced by the Classics, but it is noticeable that his verse written on foreign models is somewhat careless and hurried. Evidently, he regarded the old Spanish forms as the most worthy, for in them he has produced his best work. His *redondillas* are written in a free style and often evince a sparkling wit. With Mendoza ended the traditionalist school of Spanish poetry.

The 2nd Phase.—The second phase of lyric poetry during the Siglo de Oro extended from 1575–1609. During its course the Italian school split into two groups: the Salmantine and the Sevillian. To understand the characteristics of each group and the differentiating factors, one must analyse a passage from the works of the chief poets on both sides. The following stanzas are part of an ode by Fray Luís de León to Francisco Salinas, the blind professor of music at Salamanca University:

El ayre se serena
y viste de hermosura y luz no usada,
Salinas, quando suena
la música extremada
por vuestra sabia mano gobernada.

A cuyo son divino
mi alma que en olvido está sumida,
torna a cobrar el tino,
y memoria perdido
de su origen primera esclarecida.

Aquí la alma navega
por un mar de dulzura, y finalmente
en él así se anega,
que ningún accidente
extraño o peregrino oye o siente.

¡ O desmayo dichoso !
¡ o muerte que das vida ! ¡ o dulce olvido !
¡ durase en tu reposo
sin ser restituído
jamás a aqueste baxo y vil sentido !

These lines are a fair specimen of the work of the Salmantine group. The chief characteristic is a studied simplicity. At first glance one would believe them to be the artless output of a poetic mind ; but in reality Luís de

León's work was polished and repolished, and the more one contemplates the verses the more packed with thought they are found to be. The second characteristic is the use of classical, especially Horatian, phraseology. This feature is not seen in the verses quoted above, but is most noticeable in another poem, the *Profecía del Tajo*, e.g. *¡Ay! quanto de fatiga, ¡Ay! quanto de sudor está presente . . . a hombres y caballos juntamente* is almost a translation of Horace (*Odes* 1. 15. 3.): *Eheu! quantus equis, quantus adest viris sudor.*

Other features are the religious rapture (*¡O desmayo dichoso! ¡O muerte que das vida!*) and the priest's disdain of this mortal life (*¡Sin ser restituído jamás a aqueste baxo y vil sentido!*). There is, too, a sense of abstraction (*Aquí el alma navega por un mar de dulzura*) which sweeps one's soul upwards as one reads the lines; and a spirit of intimacy which we do not find again till the 19th century.

Turning to a typical passage of Herrera, one finds a lofty turgidity, which was indeed the main differentiation between the two groups. No intimacy here, no abstraction, but a florid expression of mundane ideas, and a tendency to long words and even ink-horn terms, e.g. *acerbo*. While Luís de León's verse has all the simplicity of the Corinthian *façade*, Herrera's has all the richness of the Gothic style of Burgos cathedral or that of Notre Dame de Paris. A fusion of the two poets might have produced a Milton.

Voz de dolor y canto de gemido,
y espíritu de miedo envuelto en ira,
hagan principio acerbo a la memoria
d'aquel día fatal aborrecido,
que Lusitania mísera suspira,
desnuda de valor, falta de gloria;
y la llorosa historia
asombre con horror funesto y triste,
dend' el áfrico Atlante y seno ardiente,
hasta do el mar de otro color se viste
y do el límite roxo d'Oriente
y todas sus vencidas gentes fieras
ven tremolar de Cristo las banderas.

The groups formed without any definite expression of ideas or publication of manifestos. It was not until the issue by Herrera of a commentary on Garcilaso's poems that an exchange of polemics took place. It was over provincial jealousies that the controversy was fought, however, and neither group became a formal school.

The Salmantine poets were few in number. The leader, LUÍS PONCE DE LEÓN (1528-91), was educated at Salamanca and afterwards held a chair at the University. In 1572, owing to a slight Jewish strain in his blood, he was suspected of heresy by the Inquisition and tried for want of respect to the Vulgate. After a trial lasting nearly five years, he was acquitted and resumed his lectures with the famous phrase *Dicebamus hesterna die*. He remained under suspicion, but was elected Provincial of the Augustinian Order in Castile, only to die a week later. A number of prose works written in a fluent, lucid style were composed during the course of his life at Salamanca and are to be counted among the mystic theological studies of the age. The first was a translation of the *Libro de los Cantares* and the last a commentary on the Book of Job. Between these he wrote *Los nombres de Cristo* and *La perfecta casada*, both of which won great popularity. Luís de León attached no importance to his poetry, and his lyrics were not published until 1631, when Quevedo issued a collection of them. They are few in number, but seem to contain the poet's very soul. As most of them find a place in every anthology of Spanish verse, no good edition of them has ever been published.

Luís de León's work was too personal to be imitated widely, and his followers are few and little known. Nothing has been learnt of the life of FRANCISCO DE LA TORRE, and his very existence has even been held in doubt. Apparently, he was in love with a lady who, in his absence, married his rich, old patron. His grief over this is one of the leading motives of his poems. These were published by Quevedo in 1631 and are all lyrical. They contain delicate poetry,

but were not sufficiently inspired. FRANCISCO DE FIGUEROA (1536-1617 ?) was a facile poet who composed equally well in Spanish and Italian. He wrote solely for his own amusement and ordered his works to be destroyed at his death. His only claim to notice is his influence in establishing the *versos sueltos* in Castilian.

The poets of the Sevillian school were more in number. Chief among them was FERNANDO DE HERRERA (1534-97), a man of humble birth who took minor orders and spent his life in Seville. The most important incident in his life was his passion for Leonor de Milá, Condesa de Gelves, which inspired a considerable portion of his poetry. Besides the annotated edition of Garcilaso's works which has already been mentioned, Herrera wrote a life of Sir Thomas More (1592). His poems were published during his lifetime (1582) under the title of *Algunas obras*. They fall under two heads: those inspired by his ill-starred love for Leonor de Milá, and those of a patriotic nature. The latter are his best work and acquired for him the epithet of *el divino*. Chief among them are *La canción por la victoria del Señor don Juan* (Lepanto, 1572), *La pérdida del rey don Sebastián*, and *Al santo rey don Fernando*. Many sonnets are included among his works. Herrera, as has been said, definitely adopted a poetic style of expression and language, a fact which differentiates the Sevillian from the Salmantine school.

Although Herrera was the recognised leader of the Sevillian group by virtue of his genius, the centre of the school was JUAN DE MAL LARA (1535 ?-71), a school-master of Seville. His successor was the Latinist Diego Girón, but Francisco Madeira (1544-1615) was also connected with the school. These scholars wrote imitations of Classical poetry, but their work is of no high order. Better is BALTAZAR DEL ALCÁZAR (1530-1606), who, unlike the poets of his time, was a soldier. He wrote some delicate love poems, and his epigrams and pointed verses have won for him the title of 'Sevillian Martial.'

Our account of the poetry of this period would be incomplete without some mention of the devotional writers. They were many, and exigencies of space confine us to two. Sharing much in common with Luís de León, they yet show a tendency to use the old traditional forms instead of the new ones introduced from Italy. SANTA TERESA DE JESÚS (1515-82) was born of noble parents in Ávila and became a Carmelite nun in that town. She wrote several religious prose works, of which *El camino de perfección* is perhaps the most important, and her *Cartas* are very human documents. Like that of Luís de León, her poetic style is intimate and simple. All her themes are religious, and in her ideas she shows herself to be a mystic. A burning fervour distinguishes her poems. Very like her in many ways was SAN JUAN DE LA CRUZ, also of Ávila and a member of the Carmelite Order. He was especially fond of the old Castilian forms of verse and composed several long poems of a religious nature in them. The limited appeal of the mysticism of these writers precludes them from wide popularity, nor did they have great influence on the poetic development of Spanish literature. Nevertheless, they were in their own way inspired poets.

The 3rd Phase.—The third phase of lyric poetry extended from 1609 to 1700. Its beginning dates from the publication of Góngora's *Panegírico al duque de Lerma*, the first work to show the extraordinary affectation which was destined to strangle poetry within the century. LUÍS DE GÓNGORA (1561-1627) was educated at Salamanca and took minor orders. He got into trouble for offences against discipline, but the protection of the Duke of Lerma saved him from serious harm. Finally, he secured an appointment as chaplain to the king. In his early days he tried to write drama, but failed, and his work is almost entirely lyrical. It is of two distinct kinds. The first, largely anterior in time, consists of graceful *letrillas*, *romances*, etc., in the traditional Castilian manner. Of these the best known are the *letrilla* beginning *Da bienes fortuna* and the *romance* *La más bella niña*. The

Oda al armamento de Felipe II contra Inglaterra is of some merit and holds much interest for Englishmen.

Góngora had a high opinion of his worth and, dissatisfied with his want of recognition, he seems to have decided, as Carlyle did later, to adopt an unusual manner of composition so as to attract attention. The *nueva poesía* which he invented aimed at striking effects and unusual phraseology. It attained this chiefly by means of compressed metaphors in which one of the terms of comparison became an epithet. Thus, from the two elements—

(i) The turf is covered with close-set flowers of many colours ;

(ii) A carpet is covered with close-set flowers of many colours,

we get the ordinary metaphor :

The turf is a carpet of flowers.

Gongorism carries the comparison farther and derives either 'The outdoor carpet' (= turf) or 'The indoor turf' (= carpet). Other devices of the style were extraordinary inversions of word order, obscure allusions to mythology and fantastic zoology, the use of ink-horn terms or of ordinary words in unusual senses, and the employment of one part of speech for another. The appeal lay to the learned, and the style came to be called *culteranismo* from that fact or *gongorismo* from its inventor. Góngora's chief works which use the new poetry are *La fábula de Polifemo*, his sonnets, and *Las Soledades*. The characteristics of the affectation will best be shown by a quotation of some lines from the first *Soledad* :

Era del año la estación florida
 en que el mentido robador de Europa
 (media luna las armas de su frente)
 y el sol todos los rayos de su pelo)
 luciente honor del cielo
 en campos de zafiro paze estrellas,
 cuando el que ministrar podía la copa
 a Júpiter mejor que el garzón de Ida,

naufragó y desdeñado sobre ausente,
lagrimosas de amor dulces querellas
da al mar, que condolido
fué a las ondas, fué al viento
el misero gemido
segundo de Arión dulce instrumento.

Here we notice the obscurity of the allusion in *el mentido robador de Europa* and the unsuitability of the Classical allusions in lines 8 and 14. *Mentido* has an unusual sense, while *garzón* is a rare word. The parenthesis in lines 8 and 4 contains a metaphor only less far-fetched than that of line 6. Lastly, the word order of lines 7, 10 and 14 is extraordinary. The whole piece is almost unintelligible, as will be seen on making an effort to translate it into English.

Góngora must not be unduly blamed for this affected style. It was a disease of the time. Euphuism had invaded England in 1580, Marinism blighted Italian literature in the early 17th century, while *préciosité* was to sweep over France but little later. Spain did not accept the new poetry without a struggle. Juan de Jaureguí, a minor poet, Lope de Vega, and Quevedo all attacked it, and a violent controversy took place. In spite of the prestige of its opponents, gongorism won the day, and even great writers like Lope de Vega himself and Calderón were affected by it.

The followers of Góngora were legion. Juan de Tarsis, CONDE DE VILLAMEDIANA (1580-1622), was the most successful of them. His poems show careful work and dainty finish, but they often out-gongora Góngora in affectation. His chief piece is the *Fábula de Faetón*, but he wrote many lyrics in various metres, including some sonnets and epigrams. His satirical vein made him many enemies and, it is said, brought about his assassination. One of those who exerted most influence in establishing gongorism, however, was not a poet, but a court preacher, HORTENSIO FÉLIX PARAVICINO Y ARTEAGA (1580-1633), who couched his sermons in the new style and brought it into favour. It was

not until well on in the 18th century that the Padre Isla ridiculed this type of church oratory out of existence.

Not every Spanish poet was infected with gongorism. The Argensolas, for instance, continued the tradition of Herrera. They were two brothers LUPERCIO (1559-1613) and BARTOLOMÉ (1562-1631) LEONARDO DE ARGENSOLA, who held in succession the post of state chronicler. Their poetic works were published in 1634 and were praised by Lope de Vega. Modelled on Horace, they are of good quality and excellent form, but they had little influence, owing to the retiring nature of the poets. The only other lyricist of the type to be mentioned was Juan de Arguijo (1564 ?-1623), the writer of some neat sonnets.

Meanwhile, as an antidote to gongorism, another type of affectation was being invented by Alonso de Ledesma of Segovia (1552-1633). But the real leader of the movement was FRANCISCO DE QUEVEDO Y VILLEGAS, already mentioned as the author of *El gran tacaño*. Like Góngora, Quevedo was the author of a number of lyrics in the traditional verse : *romances, letrillas, jácaras*, etc. But he was too sophisticated and fond of showing off his wit to excel in such simple forms. His vein was chiefly satirical, and some of his pieces, published in *Las Musas* (1648) and other collections, are amusing and brilliant, as the following example will show :

Antiyer nos casamos, oy quería,
Doña Pérez, saber ciertas verdades.
Decidme cuanto número de edades
Enfunda el matrimonio en solo un día.
Un antiyer soltero ser solía,
Y oy casado un sin fin de Navidades
Han puesto dos marchitas voluntades
Y más de mil antaños en la mía.
Esto de ser marido un año arreo,
Aun a los azacanes empalaga ;
Todo lo cotidiano es mucho, y feo.

The style used by Quevedo in most of his later work is marked by an over-refinement which, together with gon-

gorism, led to the decay of Spanish letters. It was like gongorism in its effort at striking effects and its appeal to the cultured mind, but differed from it in being intellectual, where gongorism was material and external. Gongorism played with words and stretched their meaning; *conceptismo*, as the new style was called, subtilised ideas. Puns, word-plays of every kind, and equivocations are its common devices, but the curious allusions employed by gongorism are absent. The basis of its nature, however, is an excessive use of metaphor, an over-refinement of ideas, and especially a use of metaphor in which the implied mean of comparison is not obvious. Thus, when Tennyson writes—

Her feet have touched the meadows
And left the daisies rosy,

he means that the lightness of the feet left the daisies uncrushed. But uncrushed flowers have a fresh look, and freshness of appearance is associated with rosiness. Hence, the daisies are rosy. The lines quoted are delicately poetic, but too much of such refinement results in obscurity and artificiality. As Quevedo often falls into the trick of gongorism, there is sometimes much difficulty in distinguishing between the two styles in his work.

His chief follower was the Mexican nun, SOR INÉS DE LA CRUZ (1651–95), who came before the public eye in childhood through her prodigious precosity. Her works include attempts at prose and drama, but it was in conceptist verse that she was most successful. Her contemporary fame was so great that she was known as *La décima Musa*.

During the latter half of the century the decay of lyric poetry was so great that its writers hardly rose above the level of prose. The decline, which took place throughout western Europe, was thus earliest in Spain. As we shall see, the drama still maintained the standard of poetry for some time after the death of the lyric.

Narrative Poems. The outburst of military and political greatness in the Spanish nation during the 16th century was

not reflected in the historical literature only. National pride expressed itself in narrative poems of various kinds, some of which aspire to the title of epic, though the majority frankly relate events of the stirring contemporary history. Thus, after an eclipse during the period of preparation the narrative poem returned once more and in an amazing abundance. In quality it was of little merit, however. The authors halted between the imitation of Classical models, the later style of Boiardo and Tasso, and the national form represented by *El poema de mio Cid*. Hence, on the one hand, there is mere narrative of a detailed kind that is far better done in prose, while, on the other, epic machinery proper to earlier times is introduced with stiff or at times ludicrous results in battles with fire-arms and other incompatible modern circumstances. They are hardly ever read nowadays, except in extracts, and we must pass them over with a comparatively short review.

We will begin by dividing them into (a) those with epic pretensions and (b) the frankly narrative. The first group falls into two subdivisions: those on contemporary national subjects and those on themes borrowed from Tasso. The earliest of the former was inspired by the deeds of the Great Captain and was composed by Alonso Hernández. Unfortunately, the author was incapable of high flights of poetry, and indeed the name of the poem, *Historia Parthenopea*, rather suggests a versified chronicle than an epic. It was published in 1516, some years before the opening of our period, but properly belongs to it. The deeds of Spanish troops under Charles V gave the sycophantic court plenty of opportunity for flattering literature, and two men, Juan Rufo and Luís Zapata, wrote epic accounts of the Emperor's achievements. The former's *Austriada* was published in 1548, the latter's *Carlo famoso* in 1566. Both suffer from the pedestrian nature of the verse, and from the over-inflation of the deeds they relate. They were followed by a rather better poet, ALONSO DE ERCILLA Y ZUÑIGA. Born in Madrid of noble parentage in 1533,

Ercilla served as page at the court of Philip II. While he was in England with the king in 1554, news came of great disturbances in Chile, and he at once volunteered for service. He served with distinction throughout the war with the Araucanos, taking part in some pitched battles and innumerable skirmishes. On his return to Spain in 1563, he again joined the court, undertaking various missions in different parts of Europe. In 1578 he retired into private life and lived in Madrid, where he died in 1594. During his campaign in Chile, Ercilla wrote a poetic diary of his adventures and this he published in 1569 under the title of *La Araucana*. It suffers from too great an accuracy of detail, of which indeed the author boasts, but which reduces the work to versified prose. Twice later, in 1578 and 1589, Ercilla published additions which have greater claims to the title of epic. The style is cramped and variable, and the verse is often careless and faulty. The *ottava rima* in which it is written does not seem suitable for poems of the kind, as the stanzaic form tends to break up the narrative. But there are good passages here and there, and these may be read with pleasure in extracts. The following stanzas will give some idea of the style :

El gran Caupolicán con la otra parte
Y resto del ejército araucano,
Más encendido que el airado Marte
Iba con un bastón corto en la mano ;
Bajo de cuya sombra y estandarte
Venía el valiente Curgo y Mareguano,
Y el grave y eloquente Colocolo,
Millo, Teguán, Lambecho, y Guampicolo.
Seguían luego detrás sus Plimayquenes,
Tuncos, Renoguelones, y Pencones,
Los Itatas, Mauleses, y Cauquenes,
De pintadas divisas y pendones ;
Nibequetenes, Puelches, y Cautenes
Con una espesa escuadra de peones
Y multitud confusa de guerreros,
Amigos, comarcanos, y extranjeros.
Según el mar las olas tiende y crece,
Así crece la fiera gente armada.

Tiembla en torno la tierra y se estremece
 De tantos pies batida y golpeada ;
 Lleno el aire de estruendo se oscurece
 Con la gran polvoreda levantada,
 Que en ancho remolino al cielo sube,
 Cual ciega niebla espesa, o parda nube.

The next poem worthy of mention is *La Dragontea* (1598) of the great dramatist LOPE DE VEGA, who will be dealt with at length in the next section. The author served in the Invincible Armada and on his return composed an epic on the raids of Drake—called by contemporary Spaniards *el Dragón*—and other English corsairs. Allegorical personages, like Religion and Greed, replace the Jupiters and Mercuries of the Classical epic. The poem is huge and shapeless and of little merit. Its author's ambition was to excel in this type of literature, but he was a miserable failure ; and the only interest in the poem arises out of its authorship by the great dramatist and, for Englishmen, out of its subject.

Lope de Vega also wrote two epics in the Italian style. The first was *La hermosura de Angélica* (1602) in imitation of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. It is better than *La Dragontea* and contains good episodes, fine passages, and some interesting references to the poet's life. The subject had already been tried by Luís Barahona de Soto, whose *Lágrimas de Angélica* was among the works praised by Cervantes in *El Quijote*. Lope also imitated Tasso in *Jerusalén conquistada* (1608), a poem relating the events of the crusade of Richard the Lion Hearted, but in a fantastic and unhistorical manner. Without the digressions of the *Angélica*, it has no redeeming feature but the fluency of its verse.

The narrative poems with no epic pretensions fall into four groups. The first consists of those which deal with the themes of national legend. The dramatist Juan de la Cueva, to be mentioned later, contributed *La conquista de la Bética* (1603) on the victories of San Fernando in Andalucía, but the poem is of little worth. *Los amantes de Teruel*

(1616), by Yagüe de Salas, has the adventitious interest of having introduced into Spanish literature the legend which forms its theme. Bernardo de Balbuena, however, came near to success with his *Bernardo o Victoria de Roncesvalles* (1624), in which he dealt mainly with the story of Bernardo del Carpio. The poem is immensely long and is a compendium of Spanish and other medieval and classical legends. Some of the descriptive passages are very fine, but the work fails owing to its complexity and length.

The second group is of poems on Classical subjects. Here again we find Barahona de Soto, this time with *Fábulas (de Acteón, etc.)* based on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and after him Lope de Vega with three long pieces whose titles betray their subjects: *La Circe* (1624), *La Filomena* (1621), and *La Andrómeda* (1622). As is usual in classical imitations, the poems are barren and dull. The third group deals with religious themes. Cristóbal de Virués, mentioned later as a dramatist, composed late in life a piece on the legend of *Montserrat*, publishing it in 1588 and, after copious revision, again in 1602. The main interest lies in the autobiographical passages, which show this once active soldier turning to religion in his old age in a manner typical of the Spanish character. Lope de Vega again appears here as the author of pieces on *San Isidro* (1599) and *La corona trágica* (1627). To the same class belongs *La invención de la cruz* (1648) by López de Zarate. More interesting are the poems of the fourth group, which are all mock-heroics founded on classical models. The best are *La Asneida* by Cosme de Aldana, *La Mosquée* (1615) by José de Villaviciosa, and *La Gatomaquia* (1634) by Lope de Vega. They have the fault of being too long, a defect avoided by Boileau in his *Lutrin* and by Pope in his *Rape of the Lock*, and since brevity is the soul of wit they have shared the fate of Butler's *Hudibras* in remaining unread.

The merest perusal of these narrative poems convinces us that the whole outburst was a failure. Epic poetry needs a heroic age for its setting and its composition, and one would

have thought that the exploits and life of the *conquistadores* in America would have provided the necessary conditions. Apparently they did not, for the nearest approach to success was made by the sophisticated courtier Ercilla. None of the authors seemed to have a clear idea of the proper aim of epic poetry or even of narrative verse in general, and as a result they all produced a mass of shapeless and disorganised stuff. Of course, they suffered from the handicap of lacking suitable verse-forms. Stanzaic arrangement is most unsuitable for large-scale poems, and nothing like the English blank verse or even like the French alexandrine was available.

The Drama.—During the period of preparation the advance of the drama had produced three types: the religious representation, the shapeless satirical or vulgar comedy like *Mingo Revulgo* and *Celestina*, and the dramatised novels of Encina, Gil Vicente, and Naharro. Only the two latter types can boast of any real literary qualities, and it is important to notice that they were written for the entertainment of the upper and cultured classes only. Thus, in drama as in poetry, popular developments were passed in this period through the crucible of such learning and refinement as existed in the higher orders of society.

The growth of secular drama was not, however, regarded with favour by the Church. From the time of Tertullian and St. Augustine, ecclesiastical authority had disapproved of all forms of non-religious dramatic performances. If the local priests were permitted to stage episodes of sacred history, it was because the resulting education of the laity suited the Church. In Italy the laxity of the papal court led indeed to the existence of a troop of actors at that court, and some of Encina's plays had been acted within the precincts. But the Church in Spain was far stricter, and it was not unreasonably alarmed at the success of such lewd plays as *Celestina*. Hence about the year 1520, the Inquisition placed a ban on public dramatic performances, and this veto was not

removed until some fifty years later. Of course, the religious plays continued, and it is significant that five were especially staged in honour of the baptism of Philip II. The ban of the Church does not seem to have been rigorously enforced, however, for in spite of it the Spanish drama made immense progress in those fifty years, and outdistanced its rivals in other European countries which were without this handicap.

The 1st Phase.—During the Siglo de Oro the drama falls into three periods : a time of apprenticeship beginning with Lope de Rueda and ending with Cervantes, the age of Lope de Vega, and that of Calderón. The drama of the new age may be said to begin with LOPE DE RUEDA. Both Cervantes and Lope de Vega regarded him in some sort as the father of the Spanish stage. Although this opinion does an injustice to the writers of the period of preparation, yet it has this much to support it, that Lope de Rueda made the drama into a popular and national recreation. Born in Seville towards the beginning of the 16th century, this writer started life as a gold-beater, but soon gave up this trade for the stage. This meant at the time that he became a strolling player, and he seems to have been responsible for the *répertoire* of the company. His position is best described by quoting a passage from the prologue to Cervantes' *Ocho comedias* (1615) which, though given in every work on the history of the Spanish drama, must be repeated even at the risk of dishing up the cold meats of yesterday's feast. The great novelist and his friends were one day discussing—

‘ Who was the first dramatist in Spain to take plays out of swaddling-clothes and deck them out in decent and festive gait. I, as the oldest present, said that I remembered having seen a performance by the great Lope de Rueda, a man famous for his acting and for his intelligence. . . . In the time of this celebrated Spaniard all the properties of a playwright could be got into one big sack, and consisted of four white shepherd's coats trimmed

with gilt leather and of four beards and wigs and about the same number of crooks. The plays were just conversations, after the manner of eclogues, between two or three shepherds and a shepherdess, and were expanded and touched up with the addition of two or three interludes featuring now a negress, now a bully, or at other times a fool or a Biscayan. All these parts and many others Lope presented with the greatest excellence and skill imaginable. At that time there was no stage machinery, no defiance uttered by Moors or Christians on foot or on horseback. No figure came out, or appeared to come out, of the centre of the earth through the hollow under the stage, for this last consisted of four benches arranged in a square with four or six planks laid across them and those stood some sixteen inches above the ground. Nor did clouds descend from heaven shrouding angels or souls. The only stage furniture was an old blanket drawn aside with two cords, making what is called a dressing-room. Behind it were musicians who sang, without an accompanying guitar, some old *romance*.'

The dramatist died, as Cervantes goes on to say, at Córdoba (1565) and was buried in the cathedral.

Rueda's plays are of three kinds: comedies, pastoral colloquies, and *pasos*. The former are dramatised novels after the style of Encina's *Plácida y Vitoriano* or Naharro's *comedias a fantasía*. They are divided into scenes and contain a regular plot. The best known, *Los engaños*, is of special interest in England, since, like Shaksperc's *Twelfth Night*, it derives its story from the Italian version, *Gl' Ingannati*. Virginio loses his son Fabricio during the sack of Rome by Charles V and flees from the tumult to Modena with his daughter Lelia. There Lauro falls in love with Lelia, but afterwards deserts her for Clavela. Lelia assumes male dress and becomes page to Lauro. At this point Fabricio turns up in Modena and, owing to his likeness to his twin sister Lelia, causes great confusion and comic situations. In the end Fabricio's identity becomes known, and he marries Clavela, Lelia securing her Lauro again. The story is of the kind popularised by the Italian *novelle* in the 15th and 16th centuries.

Rueda produced three other comedies : *Medora*, *Eufemia*, and *Armelina*. These were his attempts at full-dress drama, and they are the direct forerunners of the comedies of Lope de Vega. But he was perhaps more successful with his shorter pieces. The colloquies, of which two are known, were in prose and contained shepherds as characters ; otherwise they are merely lengthened *pasos*. These were just dramatic episodes in prose. Invented by Rueda, they are ten in number and are racy, gay, and humorous. Their chief historical interest is the presence of the *bobo*, or fool, developed out of the simple shepherd of the previous dramas and leading up to the *gracioso* of the next age.

Rueda was not a great dramatist, and one must not think of his work as comparable with that of his great successors, but he guided the drama into the paths followed by those after him. Perhaps this was due to his position, like that of Shakspeare's, of actor-playwright, for his work is above all practical. He was brilliant in his use of dialogue, filling it with all manner of quips and jests ; yet his fun is always good-humoured.

His influence was immediate, and a school formed round him. The first in time was JUAN DE TIMONEDA, Rueda's publisher, who wrote a comedy called *Cornelia* (1559) on the lines of his friend's. It is written in prose and divided into scenes. Another comedy of his, however, follows Naharro's practice of using short verses and dividing the play into *introito* and five *jornadas*. Besides these, he wrote an amusing imitation of Plautus in prose, together with four *pasos* and four farces which differ little from the *pasos*. A tragi-comedy and an *auto* completed the tale of his work.

The names of Alonso de la Vega and Alonso Cisneros may be passed over here, for Rueda's greatest follower was JUAN DE LA CUEVA. Born in Seville about 1550, he spent three years of his early manhood in Mexico. His first play was acted in 1579, and he died in 1610. In his early years he wrote lyric poetry in the Italian style, but gave it up on

turning to the drama. Cueva took up the dramatic art at the point at which Rueda left it and he carried it forward a considerable distance. Being an educated man, he paid more attention to form than Rueda had done and he divided his plays into four acts. His chief contribution to form, however, was his introduction of the use of varying metre in Spanish drama, a peculiarity which marks it off from the theatre in England and France. His theory is set forth in his *Exemplar poético o arte poética española*, where the chief precepts seem to be that novelty must be sought after in plots, that the style must suit the characters, that the verse must be easy, and that comedy should be treated differently from tragedy.

His dramatic works, which were published collectively in 1583, may be classified into four groups according to subject. The first deals with classical history and includes *Ajax*, *Virginia*, and *Mucio Scevola*; the second uses the stock of medieval Spanish legend and is the most important, containing *Los infantes de Lara*, *Bernardo del Carpio*, and *El reto de Zamora*; the third consists of one play, *El saco de Roma*, which deals with contemporary history; while the last is composed of works with fictitious plots, *La constancia de Arcelina*, *El viejo enamorado*, and *El infamador*. Besides these are a number of dialogues which were probably meant for plain recitation only.

About the classical subjects there is nothing to be said, but the use of history, and especially of national medieval legend, was a new departure invented by Cueva. It is by this that he carried the drama a long way towards Lope de Vega and gave it one of its special characteristics. Moreover, he was the inventor of the 'Cape and Sword' play which was destined to become so important in the hands of Lope de Vega. For these two developments alone he would be important, apart from the credit due to him for formal improvements. But he has often been also attributed with the invention of the famous character of Don Juan. *El Infamador* contains a vain and foolish 'hero' called

Leucino, who, when rebuffed by the lady he loves, tries to violate her. The lady defends herself and kills one of Leucino's servants in doing so. His plan having failed, Leucino now accuses Eliodora of murder and by false evidence procures her death sentence. In the end, however, the truth comes out, and Leucino is executed in place of Eliodora as a malicious slanderer. The story has little in common with the Don Juan tale, and in any case Cueva's historical importance is great enough to stand without this doubtful creation.

The popular national drama of Rueda and Cueva was not allowed by the classical school of learning to develop unchallenged. Just before the beginning of the Siglo de Oro (1525-28) PÉREZ DE OLIVA had published translations of the *Electra* of Sophocles, the *Hecuba* of Euripides, and the *Amphitryon* of Plautus. These had practically no influence. But Timoneda, who, unlike Rueda, had pretensions to learning, made a sort of translation of the *Amphitryon* and in addition imitated the *Menæchmi* in a curious work which he called *Los Menennos* (1559). In form divided into scenes in Rueda's manner, it retains the main outline of the plot of its Latin original. But the scene is laid in Seville, and the characters, dress, and manners are wholly Spanish. The leading classicist, however, was CRISTÓBAL DE VIRUÉS, the son of a learned doctor of medicine in Valencia. He wrote a number of wild tragedies in which his aim seems to have been to kill as many of the characters as possible. Five of the plays survive, all of which are on classical subjects and aim at imitating the Greek drama: *La gran Semíramis*, *La cruel Casandra*, *Atila furioso*, *La infelice Marcela*, and *Elisa Dido*. Similar efforts were made to classicise the Spanish drama by Gerónimo Bermúdez in *Nise Latimosa*, whose plot is borrowed from a Portuguese play, and its dull and uninteresting sequel, *Nise laureada*. The subject is the story of Inés de Castro, of whose name Nise is an anagram. The writer, who was a professor of theology at Salamanca, used imita-

tions of classical metres in both tragedies. Classical tendencies are also seen in the tragedies of Lupericio Leonardo de Argensola, better known as a lyric poet. They are three in number, but only *La Isabela* and *La Alejandra* survive. Altogether, this revival had no visible influence, and Lope de Vega, while proclaiming his knowledge of classical rules, announced his intention of departing from them in practice.

Our account of the first phase of the drama of the Siglo de Oro closes with a brief notice of the attempts made by Cervantes to excel as a playwright. The great novelist seems to have set greater store on this than on any other department of literature, and it was a grief to him that he was eclipsed by Lope de Vega. During his early life he wrote '*hasta veinte comedias o treinta que todas ellas se recitaron, sin que se les ofreciese ofrenda de papinos ni de otra cosa arrojadiza.*' Of these plays the author himself selects for mention *Los tratos de Argel*, *La destrucción de Numancia*, and *La batalla naval*. The first is a picture of the hardships of Christian slaves held at Algiers and is drawn largely from the author's own experience. For this reason it has some historical interest, but its plot is weak, and its dramatic qualities are ruined by the introduction of allegorical personages. The second relates the siege of Numantia by Scipio and contains some lofty poetry, but, like the *Tratos*, it fails in its plot and by the introduction of abstract characters. It was played in Saragossa during the famous siege of 1808-9 and served to stiffen the resistance of the town to Napoleon's forces. Both the other plays are divided into four *jornadas*, but in the *Batalla naval* Cervantes reduced the number of acts to three, a contribution to the drama which was destined to last.

In his later years Cervantes again turned to the drama, but in the meantime Lope de Vega had raised the standard of plays far above the former level and so the novelist *no halló pájaros en los nidos de antaño*. A bookseller declared that he would have bought the plays had not an

authority told him that Cervantes' prose writings were of great value, but not his verse. However, there are a number of *entremeses* which show vigour and clearness in character-sketching, though these slight pieces do not suffice to place their author very high on the rungs of dramatic fame.

2nd Phase : Lope de Vega and his School.—The student of European literature can hardly fail to recognise the similarity in main lines of development between English, Spanish, and French literatures, and we now come to one of the most striking likenesses. In England the crude, though rapidly developing drama of the latter part of the 16th century was suddenly brought to the fullness of its achievement by the advent of Shakspeare. In Spain, where the drama had made more progress at the beginning of the century, the general situation was more or less the same towards the closing years, when there appeared a great genius who, if not the equal of Shakspeare, yet placed the Spanish theatre in the foremost ranks of modern production. France was to follow some forty years later with Corneille, the movement in that country being largely due to influence from Spain.

The great dramatist to whom Spain owed her theatrical development was LOPE FÉLIX DE VEGA CARPIO, a man whose literary genius and versatility was only equalled by the looseness of his own life. Born in Madrid of humble Asturian parents on November 25, 1562, he showed a precocity which enabled him to read Latin at the age of five and to write a play with a love-intrigue at twelve. He early became page to don Jerónimo Manrique de Lara, who sent him to study at the University of Alcalá. Play-writing became his great amusement, and he began by turning out dramas *gratis* for Jerónimo Velásquez, a publisher. A disgraceful affair shortly ensued, and Lope was banished from Castile for libelling the publisher's daughter. The banishment was not treated seriously, and Lope returned soon after to Madrid to elope with Isabel de

Urbina y Cortinas. He escaped the hot pursuit of the police by joining a ship of the Invincible Armada, which was then on the point of sailing. During the expedition he found time to compose a long poem called *La hermosura de Angélica*. On his return he devoted himself to literature, publishing an epic on the deeds of Sir Francis Drake, and a novel called *La Arcadia* in 1598. Meanwhile, he continued his dramatic writing, which he did not regard as serious literature, but which quickly made him famous. He now married Juana de Guardo. He loved her sincerely and never really recovered from her death. His grief is described in the series of poems named *Pastores de Belén*. When his gifted son was lost at sea, Lope's cup of grief was full and in a fit of remorse he became a priest and a familiar of the Inquisition. This was a grave mistake for a man of his nature, for errors regarded as venial in a layman were an unpardonable reproach in a churchman. He now entered on a period of follies, in which he was encouraged by the Duke of Sessa. Even the criticism of his enemies, however, did not prevent him from attaining a position of eminence unparalleled in the social world by any other literary man. Nevertheless, his last years were troubled by the knowledge that he was outliving himself. He died on August 27, 1635.

We are not concerned here with Lope's immorality, nor are we called upon to excuse him upon the score of artistic temperament. We must point out, nevertheless, that he belonged to that technically Mediterranean race, among whose gifts is that of poetic improvisation. One of the chief features of Lope's literary work is its vast quantity. He has produced far more than any other known author, and his productivity must have been due to the racial facility which even in modern times enables the humble folk of the Mediterranean shores to compose verse *ex tempore*. Although Lope was first of all a dramatist, yet he wrote a mass of epics, burlesques, short stories, lyrics and other things which would have claimed for him

a place in literary history had he never produced a single play.

His lyrics include *romances* of the later type, *letrillas*, *canciones*, *sonetos*, etc., many of which are charming, simple pieces, while others are brilliant and witty. Although the majority are secular, a number are religious in treatment. Here too may be mentioned his *Eglogas*, which are largely autobiographical. His output of longer poems was astounding. He wrote six full-length narrative poems besides *La hermosura de Angélica* already mentioned, namely, *La Dragontea* (the epic of Drake), an imitation of Tasso called *La Jerusalém conquistada*, and four less important: *La corona trágica*, *Isidro*, *La mañana de San Juan*, and *La Tapada*. Equally long is the burlesque epic *Gatomaquia*, or Battle of Cats. *Circe*, *Andrómeda*, and *Filomena* deal with classical mythology, while *El arte nuevo de hacer comedias* and *El laurel de Apolo* are didactic. His prose works consist chiefly of novels, some long, like the pastoral *La Arcadia* and *El peregrino en su patria*, a collection of Italian *novelle*; others short, like the *Novelas a Marcia Leonarda*. He also attempted history in *El Triunfo de la fe en los reinos del Japón* and two series of devotional *Soliloquios*. Perhaps it is here that we should mention *La Dorotea*, a novel couched in dramatic form, but not intended for acting. It is largely autobiographic and supplies much of what is known of Lope's psychological make-up. As the reader will see, the non-dramatic works form a small library in themselves.

The lyrics do not call for special comment, except that they show a preference for native as opposed to Italian forms. The prose is even less conspicuous and was altogether overshadowed by that of Cervantes, while the epic and narrative poems are heavy and dull. Lope's work in these three departments is referred to elsewhere, and here it is his drama with which we are chiefly concerned. In this field he was a real master, a '*monstruo de la naturaleza*,' as Cervantes called him, and he merited the

name of *Fénix de los ingenios* by which he is often referred to by his contemporaries. In quantity alone he overwhelms all other writers, for he has provided not merely some plays, but a whole dramatic literature. While Shakspeare has left us 37 plays, Lope composed, according to the testimony of his friend Montalbán, 1,800 full-length dramas and 400 *autos*, besides some hundreds of *loas*, *entremeses*, and other lighter pieces. Of these about 450 dramas and a number of shorter things are extant. Unfortunately, the very quantity of his work has had ill effects on his fame, for no complete edition of the plays exists, and scholars are repelled by the size of the field from making a special study of his drama.

This lack of thorough exploration makes a classification of Lope's plays rather difficult, but the following scheme appears to cover the whole ground :—

1. Historical plays : (a) On classical subjects, e.g. *El esclavo de Roma*.

(b) On foreign events, e.g. *El gran duque de Muscovia*.

(c) On themes derived from medieval legends and chronicles beginning from the fall of Roderick the Goth and reaching up to the reign of Philip IV. Those most worthy of note are *El mejor alcalde el Rey*, *La estrella de Sevilla*, *Porfiar hasta morir*, *El alcalde de Zalamea*.

2. Novelesque plays on subjects often borrowed from existing novels, e.g. *Castigo sin venganza*, *El remedio en la desdicha*, *La moza de cántaro*.

3. Plays on humble life, e.g. *El cuerdo en casa*.

4. Dramas *de capa y espada* ; e.g. *La dama boba*, *La noche de San Juan*, *El acero de Madrid*.

5. Religious plays : (a) On Bible history, e.g. *El nacimiento de Cristo*.

(b) On lives of saints, e.g. *Barlán y Josafá*.

6. *Autos sacramentales*, e.g. *El nombre de Jesús*.

7. *Loas*, *entremeses*, etc.

El mejor alcalde el Rey is representative of the historical group. The play does not merely describe a sequence of

events. As Menéndez y Pelayo says in *L'épopée castillane* of the whole group, '*Lope hace revivir en la escena todos los tipos, las costumbres, las regiones, de España, que jamás ha conocido nadie tan íntimamente como él, y al mismo tiempo vuelve a tratar por su cuenta los asuntos de la antigua epopeya, reconociendo en ella la poesía hereditaria de la raza española.*' The plot is taken from the *Crónica general*, but Lope does not hesitate to distort historical detail to suit dramatic convenience. The motive comes from the sentence in the *Crónica*: *Este Emperador* (i.e. Alfonso VII) *de las Españas era muy justiciero*; and one of the main objects is to exalt the Spanish sovereign. Nuño, a Gallegan peasant, bestows the hand of his daughter Elvira on Sancho, one of his neighbours. The bridegroom goes, according to custom, to ask formal permission of the local squire, don Tello, for—

*el señor ha de saber
cuanto se hace y cuanto pasa
desde el vasallo más vil
a la persona más alta
que de su salario vive.*

The squire not only grants permission, but gives Sancho a generous wedding present and consents to attend the ceremony. On seeing Elvira, however, don Tello's lust is aroused by her beauty and he puts off the wedding. In the evening he goes with a party of servants and carries off the bride. All his efforts to bend her to his will are vain, and in the meantime Nuño and Sancho call on don Tello and, with a speech of mingled dignity and restraint, ask his help to recover Elvira. Elvira shows herself, an outcry follows, and the father and bridegroom are driven away by the squire's servants. The sturdy Gallegans, however, are not the men to put up with such an outrage; '*En Galicia señores,*' Sancho had said to Tello and his sister,

*'es la gente tan hidalga
que solo en servir al rico
el que es pobre no le iguala.'*

Nuño at once thinks of an appeal to the king :—

*' El rey de Castilla, Alfonso,
por sus valerosos hechos,
reside agora en León ;
pues es recto y justiciero,
parte allá y informarásle
deste agravio ; que sospecho
que ha de hacer justicia.'*

So Sancho sets off and obtains an order from the king to recover Elvira. But don Tello refuses to obey the order and turns Sancho off his land. Back goes Sancho and lays another complaint. The king's anger is aroused, and he declares his intention of setting out himself to put the matter right. '*Señor,*' says Sancho,

*' mirad que no os toca
tanto mi bajeza honrar.
Enviad, que es justa ley,
para que haga justicia,
algún alcalde a Galicia,'*

to which the king replies shortly : '*El mejor alcalde, el Rey.*' In fact, Alfonso hastens to don Tello's house, orders the squire to marry Elvira in order to right the wrong he has done her, and then has him executed for

*' cuando pierde de su punto
la Justicia, no se acierla
en admitir la piedad.'*

Sancho is given half of don Tello's estates and marries Elvira.

The character drawing in this play is among the best done by Lope. The impartial justice of the king, the independent, yet perfectly respectful, character of Nuño and Sancho, the chastity and loyalty of Elvira, and the gentle common sense of Feliciano, don Tello's sister, are the outstanding features. Here, less than anywhere else, Lope cannot be accused of creating types. Sancho is strongly individual and reminds us of the figures created by Shakspeare. The king perhaps is something of a type,

but then it was Lope's aim to put him above ordinary men. Perhaps the simpleton is one of Lope's best *graciosos*. This character was a development from the *bobo* of Rueda and was meant to supply the comic element ; but Rueda's fools are obviously put in to play their part, while Lope de Vega's creations fit in with the plot and are all the funnier for this. As a rule the part is played by a servant and nearly always by a man of the people. Here Pelayo affords comic relief to the most strained situations not by mere grotesque imitations of someone else, but by original fooling. Unlike Shakspeare's admirable jesters, he has not wit enough to play the fool deliberately ; but like them, he can on occasion utter words of profound wisdom.

The construction of the play is as near perfection as possible. Sancho's meeting with Elvira by the stream provides one of Lope's usually good expositions, and thenceforth the plot unrolls without interruption until the climax of the king's appearance at don Tello's house. Even the ending, which is as a rule one of Lope's weak points, leaves little to be desired. The verse and style are irreproachable. The subject lent the dramatist's facile verse a dignity which it does not always possess, and some of the speeches impress themselves in a way that is strangely rare in Lope's work.

The novelesque plays may be illustrated by *El castigo sin venganza*, whose plot deals with a duke of Ferrara so dissolute that he has remained a bachelor all his life. The Duke's councillors warn him that the claims of Federico, his natural son, are likely to be disputed and persuade him to ask for the hand of Casandra, daughter of the duke of Mantua. On her way to Ferrara this lady is rescued from a mishap by Federico, who falls in love with her at first sight. The Duke is glad to see Casandra and Federico on good terms and urges the latter to marry Aurora and acquire her great wealth. The apparent coldness of her husband hurts Casandra and, when the Duke is called away to command the pope's armies, she falls in love with

Federico. The young man tries to keep straight by offering to marry Aurora, whom he had at first refused, but the Duke on his return has been informed by an anonymous letter of the relation between his wife and his son, and having verified the charge, he punishes the guilty pair by inducing Federico to kill Casandra unwittingly and then by summoning the guards to slay Federico as the murderer of the Duchess.

The plot, which is derived from a novel of Bandello's, is more involved than that of *El mejor alcalde*, but the ending is weaker. One is not convinced of the justice of Federico's death, and the method of execution, though no doubt proper to the time, is more like murder than calm punishment. The characters are types, and one feels that labels like 'the duke,' 'the mother-in-law,' 'the guilty son,' are as appropriate for them as personal names. But the play is full of movement and life. One has only to compare with it Racine's *Phèdre* to realise the difference between a stiff classical imitation and a true holding up of the mirror to Nature.

There is little difference between the novelesque plays and those on humble life and the dramas *de capa y espada*, except that the latter are always comedies in the English sense of the word. All three types have complicated plots, but the latter two are usually on native themes and are descriptions of contemporary Spanish manners and customs. The *comedias de capa y espada* deal with aristocratic society, i.e. with the folk who wear cape and sword. One of the best is *El acero de Madrid*, whose plot is as follows. Belisa falls in love with Lisardo, but is carefully watched by her *dueña* Teodora. So she pretends to be ill and is visited by a doctor who prescribes walks in the park. The doctor and his assistant are Beltrán, Lisardo's servant, and his master in disguise. In the park Riselo, a friend of Lisardo's, makes love to Teodora and so enables Lisardo to woo her charge. This goes on for months until on the one hand Marcela, Riselo's lady-love, grows tired of his neglect

and on the other Belisa's father decides to marry his daughter to Octavio. A further complication is introduced by Florencio, the rejected lover of Marcela, who formally proposes marriage to Belisa. In the meanwhile, the young lady has fled to Lisardo's house. Her father and rejected suitors pursue her thither, but the complications are straightened out by the formal arrangement for the marriage of Lisardo to Belisa and Riselo to Marcela.

This type of drama was invented by Juan de la Cueva and perfected by Lope de Vega. It is one of the most characteristic of his dramatic works and was turned out in large numbers by him. This particular example has for us the interest of providing the original of Molière's *Le Médecin Malgré Lui*, and certainly the French dramatist has not improved on Lope's work. The characters are types, it is true, but the intrigue is thrilling, and the comic situations of the *dueña* in love, the lackey in woman's clothing, and the like, are both amusing and dramatic.

Of course, these examples cannot give an adequate idea of the work of so prolific and varied a writer as Lope, and the character of his drama in general can only be grasped by wide reading of his plays. The chief feature is the spirit of improvisation evident in all his work. We know that one of his plays was written within twenty-four hours, and the number produced makes it necessary for the author to have composed as fast as his pen could write. Hence, his plays are brilliant pieces of improvisation, and such philosophy as they contain is superficial. That is largely why few passages burn themselves into one's mind as some of Shakspeare's do. But on the other hand there is a spontaneity and freshness in the work that has led a critic to say *Las comedias de Lope de Vega son de la naturaleza, y las otras, de la industria*. The second feature is the predominance of the story interest over all else. Character drawing, regularity of structure, historical and geographical truth are all sacrificed to this. Hence, Lope's plays are of a popular nature, designed to

catch the ear of the '*senado*' to whom his epilogues are addressed. It is amazing what an absence of monotony there is in the themes, considering the vast number of his plots. His ingenuity and fertility of imagination were certainly unique. It is noticeable perhaps that as time went on intricacy of plot gave way to better character drawing. Even from the first, however, a leading place was given to women. They are set on a high moral pedestal and are depicted as full of moral courage, purity, and devotion. The men are more varied. The aristocrats are the least individualised, but the men of humble birth who play chief parts are firmly drawn as rugged, simple, and loyal.

Lope was conversant with the pseudo-Aristotelian rules of drama, though he did not follow them because he realised their unsuitability to the Spanish stage. But true master as he was, he used them where their application was necessary. He is most skilful in exposition, but weak in ending. In the body of his plays he employs a number of dramatic devices, of which the stumbling of a lady (e.g. Belisa in *El acero de Madrid*) in order to make the acquaintance of a gallant was the commonest. A characteristic arrangement is the duplication of personages, as, for instance, when he balances the hero and his valet against the heroine and her maid. The play is held together by a dialogue which is varied, bright, full of *jeux de mots*, and brimming with spontaneous humour. The versification is careless, but fluent. Lope prefers the old Spanish measures and even introduces *romances viejos* for the sake of effect. He established the use of varied metres in contrast with the one-metre practice in England and France, and he showed great skill in choosing his verse to suit the subject. Roughly speaking, he used *romance* for explanations and narrative, *redondillas* for love-making, the sonnet for soliloquies, and *décimas* for laments.

Lope was no ignorant genius. His plays show a wide learning of the kind in vogue at his time, and he was a student of men and of Nature. He set a higher moral tone

in his drama than existed on the contemporary English stage. But above all his work shows a national character which has made him the idol of the Spanish people. On the other hand this quality has made him less popular abroad (in spite of his drama having contributed to the theatres of all western European nations), and while in Spain he is regarded as the chief dramatist of the nation, he has had to yield the foremost place to Calderón in the esteem of foreign critics.

The School of Lope de Vega.—The genius of Lope de Vega at once raised the Spanish drama to a state of perfection. But it would be a mistake to think of the *Fénix* as a lonely figure. Just as Shakspeare is but the best of a group of astonishingly good dramatists, so Lope was merely the *primus inter pares* of writers nearly, if perhaps not quite, as good as himself. It would seem as if there was a dramatic infection in the air both in England and Spain during the closing years of the 16th century and the opening of the 17th, for the number of people able to write passable plays at that time was astonishingly great. It is curious that the art should have become so wholly lost. Lope's followers not only wrote dramas excellent in themselves, but they created plots and characters which have become the spiritual possession of western Europe.

The first in time was GUILLÉN DE CASTRO Y BELLVIS. Born at Valencia in 1569, Castro held divers official posts obtained by the favour of great men and later on he entered the household of various grandees, notably the Marqués de Peñafiel. He dabbled early in lyric poetry and was one of the founders of the *Academia de los Nocturnos*, a poetic circle which met at night. In 1619 he settled in Madrid, where he became the friend of Lope de Vega. He died in 1631. He wrote a number of plays in the style of Lope, but only one calls for mention. *Las mocedades del Cid* was a dramatisation of the early life of the national hero. Although it is in itself a good piece of work, it has gained much historical importance from being the original of

Corneille's *Le Cid*. Comparing the two plays, we notice that in Castro's work the story is predominant, while Corneille has emphasised the psychological struggle between duty and love and made his version a drama of human passions. *Le Cid* is artistically constructed according to the accepted rules and is better trimmed and ordered. It does not do this, however, without loss of freshness and vigour, and the plausibility of the story is lost by telescoping the events and specially the psychological sequences into a period of twenty-four hours. Much of Castro's action and many of his characters have been rejected as tending to distract attention from the main theme. But perhaps one of the most noticeable differences is that while Castro's hero moves in an incomprehensible world of uncontrollable events, Corneille's Cid is master of his fate and determines his own destiny. He is a hero of humanity, not a Spaniard; a lover such as might be found all over the world. Castro, on the other hand, has drawn his Cid as a national figure, idealising the rough freebooter of the *romances* in order to exalt him in the eyes of the people. Where *Le Cid* excels *Las mocedades* most is in its verse. Castro's style, though vigorous, fresh, and sincere, cannot compare with the lofty diction of the French dramatist. But it says much for the Spanish play that it will bear comparison with its French offspring, and indeed it should be remembered that Spaniards do not generally admit Corneille's superiority. The sequel to *Las mocedades* is found in *Las hazañas del Cid*, but this does not stand out from the body of Castro's work.

The greatest of Lope de Vega's followers was Gabriel Téllez, who is better known to literature by his pen-name of TIRSO DE MOLINA. Born in Madrid in 1571, Tirso took holy orders and filled various ecclesiastical posts during his longish life. While still a young man he spent two years in the island of Santo Domingo. Returning to Madrid, he became a friend of Lope de Vega and an enemy of Alarcón, who will be mentioned presently. The

skits on certain persons which he inserted in his plays made the capital too hot for him and he was obliged to leave it for a time. Towards the end of his life he became prior of the convent of Soria, where he died in 1648. Like his master Lope, Tirso was a prolific dramatist. He is credited with having written some four hundred plays, of which eighty have survived, and he produced some attractive short novels like *Las tres maridos burlados*, which belong to the type of Bandello's and are similar to Lope's *Novelas dirigidas a Marcía Leonarda*. In general his dramas are not far inferior to those of Lope, and he even excels his master in character drawing, in which department of his art he was unusually skilful. His lively use of dialogue is quite equal to that of the best dramatists, and his style is free from the contemporary vice of affectation.

The most famous, though not the best, of Tirso's plays is *El Burlador de Sevilla*, which introduced into literature the Don Juan legend. According to local accounts, don Juan Tenorio was a member of a family among the *veinticuatro*s in Seville. He seduced the daughter of a certain *comendador* Ulloa and killed her father in the ensuing quarrel. Ulloa was buried in the Franciscan monastery and a statue was erected to his memory in the chapel. In order to put a stop to don Juan's misdemeanours, the friars of the convent enticed him into their grounds at night and slew him, giving out that he had insulted Ulloa's statue and had been thrown into hell by it. To the three essentials of this story, viz. the seduction of a lady, the murder of her protector, and the supernatural vengeance wrought on the slayer, have been added many frills, embroideries, and decorations, making the character of don Juan the prime example of the reckless lady-killer. The story at once spread through Europe. Molière used it in his *Festin de Pierre*, and Shadwell in his *Libertine*. In the 19th century Byron revived it in his *Don Juan*. Since then it has had great popularity. Dumas used it as a theme and so did Zorilla in his *Don Juan Tenorio*. Expronceda

repeated it in *El Estudiante de Salamanca*, and Mozart took it as the plot of his opera *Don Giovanni*. Lately, it has appeared on the screen as a film play. Tirso's version is nearest that of the original legend and is the basis of all the others. The improbability of the *dénouement* is more suitable to lyric poetry than to the drama ; but this mattered little to Tirso, one of whose faults is that his plots are improbable.

Perhaps the best of Tirso's plays is *La prudencia en la mujer*, a historical drama dealing with the firmness and wisdom of dona María, the queen-mother, in preserving the throne of Castile for her son Ferdinand IV against the intrigues of his uncles. The character drawing is admirable, the queen-mother being a full-length portrait of excellent finish. The plot is weakened by improbabilities at the end ; but this does not prevent the play from being among the best of its kind. Another drama of the first rank is the comedy *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*, whose plot is simply the pursuit of a lover by a jilted girl. The disguises assumed by the lady lead to much confusion and many comic situations, though perhaps the intrigue is a little too complicated. The dialogue is witty and amusing, but the unravelling of the plot is too sudden. The characters are not as individual as is usual in Tirso's work, for the *comedia de capa y espada* did not lend itself to portrait sketching. Other well-known plays of the same author are *Marta la piadosa* and *La villana de Vallecas*.

ANTONIO MIRA DE AMESCUA (1577 ?-1644) need not detain us long. He was a lyric poet of mediocre talent, and organised the dances at the famous celebration of the festival of San Isidro in 1620. His plays are often on religious themes, like *El esclavo del demonio*, which is an account of the life of San Gil de Santarem. But he also wrote secular plays, of which the *comedia de capa y espada* entitled *La rueda de Fortuna* is the best.

We now pass on to JUAN RUÍZ DE ALARCÓN, who, but for his propensity for making enemies, might have been recognised as the equal of Lope de Vega. Born in Mexico

about 1580, he had the misfortune to be a hunchback. After beginning his education abroad, he went to Salamanca and took various degrees there. Going on to Seville, he practised as a barrister for some time, but returned to Mexico in 1603. There he practised at the bar for eleven years. In 1614 he went to Madrid and devoted himself to literature, obtaining a post under the Council for the Indies in 1625. Altogether he wrote thirty plays, thus differing from his contemporaries in a want of fertility. This is no handicap, however, for his work showed a finish unusual in the dramas of the period and perhaps impossible owing to the rate at which plays were dashed off. Character is the motive force in all his plays, and there is a vein of moral didacticism in them. His aim seems to have been to draw a character, emphasising a particular trait and showing the results that follow from it. Thus, in his most successful play, *La verdad sospechosa*, he depicts a young man afflicted with the habit of lying. The fertility of the gallant's lies win our admiration and laughter, while their needlessness leaves us struck with wonder. He becomes involved more and more in his own web, until in the end he is forced into marrying the wrong lady. The play was copied by Corneille in *Le Menteur*; but here the Frenchman was challenging comparison, not with a second-rater like Castro, but with one of Spain's leading dramatists, and only national prejudice can pretend that *Le Menteur* is as good as its original. The spontaneity of dialogue and freedom of construction evident in *La verdad sospechosa* are conspicuously absent from the French play. Alarcón's work shows a perfect taste, sobriety of language and animation of dialogue, and his verse is excellent. Among his other plays may be mentioned *Ganar amigos* and the two parts of *El tejedor de Segovia*.

The last of Lope's school who will be mentioned here is JUAN PÉREZ DE MONTALBÁN (1602-38). A friend of Lope de Vega's and the authorised publisher of his plays, he seems to have had help from the great dramatist in the writing of

some of his works. He wrote a good deal of mediocre poetry and prose of various kinds, and about fifty-eight plays. The only one of the latter that need be mentioned is *Los amantes de Teruel*. Its importance is not due to its intrinsic merit (which is scant) but to the adoption of its story as one of the great themes of Spanish literature and to the reflected glory derived from Hartzenbusch's play of the same name, which was acted in 1837. The story is that Diego de Marsilla and Isabel de Segura have loved each other since childhood. A cousin of Isabel's, who also loves Diego, intrigues Fernando de Gamboa, a wealthy nobleman, into wanting to marry Isabel. As Diego is poor, the best the lovers can obtain is that Diego should be allowed three years and three days in which to better his fortunes. The hero goes off to the wars and returns rich and noble, but two hours after the end of his appointed term, to find that, owing to false rumours of his death which have been spread by Isabel's cousin, his lady-love has married his rival. The lovers meet, and Diego claims her love. When Isabel remains chaste, Diego is suffocated by his emotions, and thereupon Isabel dies of a broken heart. The story, which is first related in a poem of 1577, may be a genuine legend of the little town of Teruel; but possibly the local ideas were derived from Montalbán's play or some other literary source in order to interest visitors or to swell the importance of the township.

3rd Phase: Calderón and His School.—The death of Lope de Vega and the decline of Tirso and Alarcón opened the way for another literary genius. This was PEDRO CALDERÓN DE LA BARCA. Born in Madrid on January 17, 1600, of noble parents who hailed from Asturias, he was educated first in a Jesuit school and later at Alcalá and Salamanca. In the latter university he did brilliantly and he thought of entering the Church; but, having changed his mind, he went to Madrid and there began a literary career. Like most gentlemen of his time, he held office in the household of various noblemen, and between 1625 and

1685 he seems to have campaigned in Italy and Flanders. In the meantime, his poetry and plays, one of which had been acted in 1622, had brought him to the notice of King Philip IV, who called him to Spain to fill the vacancy caused by Lope's death. He at once found high favour at court and was created a knight of Santiago. In 1640 he took part in the suppression of the Catalan revolt and seems to have been an efficient soldier. In 1651 he took holy orders and gave up writing for the popular stage, though he continued to produce *autos* and secular plays for the court. He died on May 25, 1681, and was lamented by all Spain.

Like other dramatists of this time, he had no thought of publishing his works, and we are largely dependent for our knowledge of their names on the list which he drew up just before his death for the Duke of Veragua. Altogether there are extant one hundred and twenty plays, eighty *autos*, and about twenty *entremeses*, *loas*, *jácaras*, and other short pieces. Between 1682 and 1691 Juan de Vera Tassis y Villarroel published an edition of these works. Broadly speaking, his dramatic works may be set in three classes: religious, secular, and short pieces. The former fall naturally into the two subdivisions of the *auto* and the religious drama proper (*El mágico prodigioso*, *El príncipe constante*). The secular plays are of six kinds: philosophic plays (*La vida es sueño*), tragedies (*El alcalde de Zalamea*, *Amar después de la muerte*, *El médico de su honra*, *El mayor monstruo los celos*), comedias de capa y espada (*La dama duende*, *La banda y la flor*), historical plays (*La cisma de Inglaterra*), chivalresque plays (*La puente de Mantible*), and plays on mythological subjects (*Ni amor se libra de amor*).

The *auto* was a one-act piece dealing with the mystery of the Eucharist. It was played on Corpus Christi day as part of the celebration of the feast. The programme as described in the opening *loa* of Lope's *Fiestas del Santísimo Sacramento*, began with a procession headed by the Tarasca, or stuffed dragon, and continued by other mummers, then by churchmen, heads of the state, and lastly

by the king himself. In the afternoon the crowd would assemble in the square before the house of some nobleman, and the *auto* would be performed on a temporary stage. The nobility looked on from the balconies of the surrounding houses. The performance opened with a *loa* which was explanatory and eulogistic. Then followed a farcical *entremés*. Neither of these pieces was necessarily religious in character. Lastly, the *auto* or main piece was performed *a honor y gloria del pan*.

The earliest *auto*, entitled *Farsa sacramental en coplas*, was written in 1520 by Hernán López de Yanguas and sprang from the mystery plays of previous centuries. It quickly came into favour, and, as we have seen, was taken up by Lope de Vega. In Calderón's hands it reached its highest degree of perfection and after a final burst of glory declined. The *autos* composed after Calderón's time are negligible, for the great poet's works supplied all needs, until finally the public performance of this type of drama was prohibited on June 9, 1765, because the spirit of the nation had outgrown it and the performances were beginning to cause disturbances.

Calderón's *autos* may be placed in five classes according to subject: philosophic, biblical, historical, mythological, and contemporary. They are written in a lyrical style, and their personages are mostly allegorical. *El gran mercado del mundo*, which belongs to the first group, is typical. It describes how a father sends his two sons to spend their talents at a fair, promising to reward the most successful with the hand of Grace. The elder son chooses the straight and narrow way, while the younger chooses the 'primrose path' and is dogged by Guilt, an old lover. On reaching the fair, the elder refuses to buy Pride's robes and chooses Humility's instead. He also buys a mirror of Selfknowledge and a loincloth of Penitence. Then he returns home in company with Innocence and is rewarded by being wedded for ever to Grace. The younger son, on the other hand, spends his talent on goods offered by Pride, Lust and

Gluttony. Finally, he buys Guilt, who is a dancing girl. Returning home, he is disowned by his father and recognises that he is joined for ever to a tyrant and oppressor.

The lyric element of the *autos* is very important. The metre is lighter than the ordinary drama, and a good many parts for singing and recitation are introduced. The verse is always of high quality and often of surpassing excellence. The dramatic element is weaker. The plots are allegories whose personages are abstractions, and there is little movement and action. Scenic effects are aimed at through the stage machinery and properties, but no attempt is made to hold the mirror up to life. Nevertheless, the abstract characters who appear are often shown with a vividness that makes us forget that they are not individuals. This is extraordinary in a dramatist whose tendency was to depict types in his secular plays. The plots are naturally very simple, but the ingenuity with which the author varies his approach to his single theme is surprising. The treatment even in unpromising circumstances is reverent and reveals the deep faith of the writer. The Jesuit education shows through in the expression of scholastic and doctrinal dogma, and the train of theological thought is often abstruse, if not a little casuistical. The *autos* have ceased to interest us and can only be read nowadays for their splendid lyricism.

The religious plays are ordinary dramas with a religious theme. The line of difference between them and the secular drama is often difficult to demarcate, and a play like *El príncipe constante* is classed by some critics as religious, by others as historical. It is, of course, both, and it is merely a question of convenience or opinion as to which class one refers it. The chief representative of the religious plays is the powerfully written *Mágico prodigioso*, a drama on a theme so akin to that of *Faust* that Goethe is said to have been influenced by Calderón's work. The plot is as follows: The devil tries to win the soul of Cipriano, a pagan philosopher of Antioch, and to gain his end, throws

in the philosopher's path a beautiful Christian maiden named Justina. Cipriano falls deeply in love with her, but his proposal is rejected. In despair he gives up his studies and makes over his soul to the devil in return for acts that are supposed to enable him to win Justina. He finds, however, that the evil spells have no power to force man's free-will and discovers that the one Almighty is the God of the Christians. Accepting the faith and receiving baptism, he resolves to redeem his soul by seeking martyrdom at the hands of the Roman governor. But Justina, too, has been arrested as a Christian, and the pair are united in death.

Que en la muerte te querría
dije ; y pues a morir llego
contigo, Cipriano, ya
cumplí mis ofrecimientos,

says Justina as they are led off to execution, while the devil confesses that Cipriano

fué mi esclavo ; mas borrando
con la sangre de su cuello
la cédula que me hizo,
ha dejado en blanco el lienzo ;
y los dos, a mi pesar,
a las esferas subiendo
del sacro solio de Dios
viven en mejor imperio.

The construction of the play is perfect, though the mixture of ordinary dramatic intrigue with a theme otherwise so lofty gives the modern reader a slight jar perhaps. The characters are strongly outlined, but, being avowedly supernormal for the most part, they lack the true ring of human nature. Cipriano, of course, is an interesting psychological study. The verse is often of Miltonic grandeur, as, for instance, in the oft-quoted speech of the devil beginning : *Yo soy, pues saberlo quieres (jor II, esc. 7)*.

The secular plays are of six kinds. The most characteristic type is the drama *de capa y espada*, which, after being perfected by Lope de Vega, was continued with greater

brilliance by Calderón. Among this group are found a number of 'proverb plays,' e.g. *Guárdate del agua mansa*, *Casa con dos puertas mala es de guardar*, whose plots are intended to illustrate the maxim expressed in the title. Calderón did not invent this variety of play, but he was the first to recognise it as a variety and to practise it frequently. The best representative of the dramas *de capa y espada* is not a 'proverb play,' however, but one of another variety that takes its title from the principal stage device used in it. Of this variety is *La dama duende*.

The plot of this play is most ingenious, most complicated, and truly delightful. Two brothers, Juan and Luís, live together in Madrid with their young widowed sister Angela, whom they keep jealously in seclusion, according to the ideas prevailing at the time in Spain. Juan had been a soldier and during a campaign in Piedmont had served as lieutenant to a certain don Manuel. The two men had become great friends, and Manuel had put Juan under an obligation to him by saving his life. At the opening of the play, Manuel comes on business to Madrid and is to stay with Juan. True to the tradition of the Spanish stage, the gallant meets Angela in no ordinary way. Calderón is too ingenious to use Lope's old device of a stumbling incident. Instead he makes a veiled lady, who is Angela trying to avoid her brother Luís, beg Manuel as a gentleman to save her from impertinent pursuit. Manuel covers her retreat by means of a duel with Luís, Juan comes up just in time to prevent the incident from going too far, and takes his guest home. At this point the author, who, like Shakspeare, knows how to strike the keynote of a play early on, makes Luís foresee complications arising from the presence in the house of a spirited and beautiful sister and a handsome guest. Learning that her protector is in the house and wearied of being kept in seclusion, Angela uses a secret door leading from her apartments to the guest's suite to visit his room in his absence. As his door is kept locked, Don Manuel is surprised at the disorder of his papers, the change in

position of furniture, and the marks of a visitor ; but his superstitious lackey at once attributes the visit to a fairy. The visitor has, however, left a letter, which is answered by Manuel. The correspondence leads to further visits, and the two fall in love without further meeting. At last Angela invites Manuel to see her. He is to meet her servants in the street and be taken to her house in a sedan chair. Without knowing it, therefore, he is taken back to Juan's house and in Angela's room meets her and is confirmed in his love. But at this moment Juan knocks at her door, and Manuel is slipped through the secret door into his own room. Luís now discovers the meeting of the pair and a duel follows. But Angela avows her love for Manuel, and the latter gladly offers to marry her and remove any suggestion of dishonour to the family. This straightens out the complications, and brings the play to an end. But for the motives of the fairy and the code of honour of the brothers, both of which are now quite out of date, the play would meet with success before modern audiences. Another play of almost equal quality is *La banda y la Flor*.

The *pundonor* is a favourite motive of Calderón, and is used above all in his tragedies of jealousy. These are fearsome plays which bring human feeling against a conventional rule of an artificial society. Four examples spring readily into one's mind : *El médico de su honra*, *El pintor de su deshonra*, *A secreto agravio secreta venganza*, and *El mayor monstruo los celos*. The first shall serve to show the kind of story used in these dramas. Don Gutierre discovers signs that his wife Mencía is carrying on secret relations with Prince Enrique de Trastámara. In truth the lady had been in love with the prince before her marriage, but she had been faithful to her husband and had preserved an attitude not merely of chastity, but also of social correctness. This, however, does not excuse her, for in the eyes of a Spanish gentleman of the 17th century it was as bad for an innocent woman to be compromised in the slightest degree as for her to be guilty of unchastity. Don

Gutierre's first step is to complain to the king, who at once banishes the prince from Seville. Having dealt with the lover, the husband turns to vengeance on his wife and, as Fate would have it, surprises her in the act of writing to don Enrique to implore him not to compromise her honour by leaving Seville. Gutierre at once orders her to prepare for death, goes out and forces a surgeon at the point of his dagger to accompany him home blindfolded. They come upon Mencía already laid out as dead, and the surgeon is made to bleed her to death. On returning to his own house the surgeon meets the king, tells his story, and leads the king to Gutierre's door. That gentleman has a conventional excuse for his wife's death, namely, that the bandage had slipped after a surgical bleeding. The king realises the situation, however, and sympathises with Gutierre's attitude, but, recognising that authority must not condone his act, orders him to make up for his deed by marrying a lady whom he had before rejected. Gutierre agrees on condition that his future wife should realise the punishment of infidelity. The strain of the tragedy is very great and rises almost to breaking point in the bleeding scene, and there is no comic relief to ease it. The style and language are sufficiently dignified to bear this passion, but to the mind of one not brought up to the conventions of the society for whom the play was written the motive of the tragedy is unconvincing and the cruelty of the main idea is revolting.

The third class of secular plays consists of historical pieces. Some like *El cisma de Inglaterra* are definite histories, while others like *El príncipe constante*, *Amar después de la muerte*, and *El alcalde de Zalamea* are dramas based on historical background. The histories are weak, but *El cisma* has for us the interest of dealing with Henry VIII's divorce and breach with Rome. The other plays are all of the finest quality. In fact, *El alcalde de Zalamea* is generally regarded as the best of Calderón's works. Its scene is laid in the village of Zalamea, whither march a

column of soldiers mobilised for Philip II's invasion of Portugal. The captain of the troops is billeted at the house of Pedro Crespo, the principal villager, and forms designs against the chastity of his host's daughter. His plans are disturbed, however, by the arrival of his superior officer, don Lope de Figueroa, who takes his billet. On the departure of the troops, the captain arranges for Crespo's daughter to be carried off, and, after violating her, he leaves her brutally tied to a tree in a wood. Meanwhile, Crespo's pursuit has captured the officer and brought him before the newly appointed *alcalde*, who is Crespo himself. Don Lope demands the freedom of the king's officer, and the king himself, who has now arrived on the scene, orders him to be given up. Crespo obeys, but only a corpse is produced, for the *alcalde* has in the meantime had the offender hanged. The king agrees that justice has been done and appoints Crespo as *alcalde* for life. There are many fine passages in the play, and the characters, especially that of Crespo, are firm, individual portraits.

The other classes of the secular drama are less important. They consist of plays on mythological, chivalresque, and philosophical subjects. Among the last group is *La vida es sueño*, which is considered by many as at least the equal of *El alcalde de Zalamea*. Evil prophecies have caused King Basilio to shut up his son Segismundo in a tower and keep him away from men. When Segismundo grows up, Basilio decides to give him a chance and brings him drugged to the palace. The prince's behaviour is so outrageous that he is sent back, again drugged, to his tower. On awakening he is persuaded that he has been dreaming and he discovers that life is but a dream. When a popular rising places Segismundo on the throne once again, he is so afraid of awakening to find the whole of reality become a dream that he overcomes his evil destiny and acts as a wise prince. Some of the passages in the play are as well known in Spain as the 'To be or not to be' and 'Friends, Romans, countrymen' of Shakspeare are in England. The

philosophy is very deep, a fact that has made this drama better known abroad than any other of Calderón's pieces ; but the character drawing is weak. Perhaps the best is Segismundo, though even he is somewhat spoilt by a too sudden submission.

Calderón's plots are among the best features of his dramas. True, he often borrows the story from someone else, as, for instance, his use of Lope's *Alcalde de Zalamea*. But his borrowing is of the Shaksperian kind, for in most cases he transforms the story into a far superior plot, working out the intrigue with the utmost skill. The complications of a plot like that of *La dama duende* require a master hand to avoid hopeless confusion and entanglement. He invented no new method of construction, but followed those perfected by Lope de Vega and refined them even more. Thus, he represents the period of slack water that lies between the rising and the ebbing of the tide, a period of no further rise and soon to be followed by the ebb.

Except in the *comedias de capa y espada*, the main idea of his plots is perhaps sometimes in danger of being overwhelmed by the dramatic structure and, as in Lope's dramas, there is a tendency to overwork such stage devices as duels, disguises, phantoms, and the like. Of course, Calderón pays little attention to geographical or historical accuracy. His ancient philosopher Cipriano is depicted as a 17th century Spanish gallant, and his Roman rivals for Justina's love are imbued with the peculiar traditions of honour then obtaining in Spain. Lope de Vega had had as little regard for such trifles ; indeed, it is only comparatively recently that consideration for such accuracy has come into vogue.

Perhaps the chief feature of Calderón's drama as a whole is the emphasis he lays on the ideas of religion, loyalty to the sovereign, and the preservation of honour. The author's faith was deep and sincere, pervading the whole of his *autos* and many of the other plays as well. In fact, his later work shows a distinct religious bias. As a court dramatist

one rather expects him to exalt the sovereign : but he carries the idea to excess and makes submission to the monarch a natural virtue. True it is that in *El alcalde de Zalamea* he lays down the subject's rights against the king, but the play is an exception in this as well as in several other ways. The *pundonor* has become a real fetish and is exaggerated to such an extent as to spoil some of the best plays for modern readers. The fact is that in his emphasis on these three ideas Calderón represents the high society of his day, a society strangely unlike anything found anywhere else at any time.

Calderón's style is equal to his dramatic construction. His plots excel not merely by technical skill, but even more by his grandeur of conception. The intensity of tragic passion found in some of his plays is almost unequalled, and the depth of his philosophy is found nowhere else in the Spanish drama. A court poet writing for a cultured audience, he is somewhat out of sympathy with Nature and lacks that touch which alone can give universality to the drama. In this respect he is inferior not only to Lope, but also to Tirso and Alarcón. His greatest defect, however, is a lack of humour. Here again we see the Spanish 17th century character peeping out. Everything in his works is serious, and his attempts at fun are forced and artificial. His *graciosos* are mere buffoons whose clowning is often irrelevant and even irritating. But all this is made up for by his sublime poetry. Where but few of Lope's lines remain in one's memory, whole passages of Calderón's burn themselves into one's mind, and it is this, more than anything else, that has kept his popularity fresh in Spain long after his plays have ceased to be acted. Many of his works, and especially the *autos*, show a lyrical tendency. Songs, not always his own, but introduced in Shakspere's manner from the popular *répertoires* of the day, enliven all but his deep tragedies, and in some cases the dramatic verse rises to a lyrical strain. This has led to the serious defect of

culteranismo. Many of the dramas, notably *La vida es sueño*, are affected by gongoristic passages, and even in the *Alcalde de Zalamea* Isabel's tragic account of her treatment by the captain is made unreal by strained metaphor. The *comedias de capa y espada* are least touched by this disease, for it is thought that the dramatist gave up the vice as time went on.

Unlike Lope, Calderón was not an improviser; on the contrary, his plays show careful thought and preparation. Moreover, their matter contains much food for thought. In fact, the dramatist's early training by the Jesuits gave him a liking for academic discussion, and in a sense his more serious plays are illustrations of contemporary themes such as the power of free-will (*El mágico prodigioso*) and predestination (*La vida es sueño*). Even love and jealousy are discussed with the nicety and dogmatism of the schools, the argument and treatment leaving on the modern reader an impression of ingenuity and futility. But casuistry, when it occurs, is not easily perceived, for the author had developed under the Jesuits a dialectic power of the first order. Its real quality can be appreciated best in the scenes of *El mágico prodigioso* in which Cipriano and the devil discuss the problem of God.

As a rule critics attack the character drawing of Calderón. He certainly attached more importance to the plots than to the personages. This was largely, if not wholly, due to the times. Society, not only in Spain, but in England and France as well, was becoming subject to an artificial code which expressed itself in formality of language and in wigs and other articles of dress that tended to obscure Nature. In painting this elegant and conventional society, Calderón could hardly do otherwise than produce conventional drawings in which the characters appear as types rather than individuals, and the gallants and ladies of one play bear a strong family likeness to those of other plays. In this respect, *El alcalde de Zalamea* is a marked exception. Pedro Crespo and his son, don Lope and even the sub-

ordinate characters are strongly individual, reminding us of the clearly drawn creations of Shakspeare. He has, however, impressed one mark of his own individuality on them all, applying to them the laws of convention without a jot of human feeling. This is a defect, for it is impossible to believe that such a monster as don Gutierre not only lived in a civilised society, but was even countenanced by his king in his evil deeds.

If the preceding paragraphs have been carefully read, the reader will already have arrived at the explanation of the fact that Calderón's drama was not popular. The cultoristic style, the refinement of argument, and reflection of a limited social group would not appeal to the multitude. The years 1627-37 were his best period, for as time went on the author wrote less and less for the public and confined himself to dramas for the court and for religious festivals. But although Calderón's drama was not popular, the dramatist was yet helped to popularity even among the crowd by the patronage of Philip IV and that of the *conde-duque* de Olivares, and for a couple of centuries he was regarded as the chief playwright of Spain. Of late years there has been a reaction. Critics assert that he owed much of his fame to the edition of his plays published by Vera Tassis not long after his death, an edition which enabled his works to be read, while those of Lope, Tirso, and Alarcón were unprocurable. That *autos* are no longer played in Spain has done much to produce this criticism, for much of his best poetry is to be found in these now unreadable works. But his gorgeous Miltonic style, the artistic construction of his dramas, and the depth of his philosophy will always give him a foremost, if not the leading, place among dramatists in Spain and a prominent position in the literature of the whole world. Typical of his country and his century in his representation of character, his want of universality in that respect is redeemed by the eternal truth of his philosophy.

The third division of Calderón's dramatic works consist

of short pieces, chiefly *zarzuelas* (so called from having been first performed in the Zarzuela grounds) and *entremeses*. The former, as a rule, were meant to be sung and were the prototypes of our modern musical comedies. The best examples are *El laurel de Apolo* and *La púrpura de la rosa*, both of whose plots are based on matter derived from Ovid. The *entremeses* were dialogues intended as relief to the principal piece of the performance. From these and the *loas* and *sainetes* are derived the *género chico* of modern Spanish drama. To explain the uses of these short pieces in the 17th century, it will be best to give a sort of programme of a dramatic performance :—

Preludes : Recitation or singing of popular ballads { not always
included.

Tunes on a guitar

Loa spoken by the stage manager or by one or more leading actors.

Act I of the main dramatic piece.

Entremés.

Act II of the main dramatic piece.

Entremés.

Dancing (not always included).

Act III of the main dramatic piece.

Sainete.

National dances, such as the *Jácara*, *Zarabanda* and *Alemana*.

The School of Calderón.—The Spanish drama received its final shape from the hands of Lope de Vega, but the dramatic mould was cast by Calderón. From 1640 onwards to the end of the century, this great playwright dominated the theatre and set a tradition so hard and fast that as soon as the master died the decay of the drama was immediate and rapid. By 1700 it was dead. This was not due to any lack of writers, for it is stated that more than 500 dramatists

were at work during the reigns of Philip IV and Charles II. Rather, it was owing to the prostitution of the art by swarms of bad artists, to the working out of the sources of fertility in invention, and to the tendency—so often found elsewhere—in the followers of the master hand to imitate and exaggerate his defects. Hence, we notice a deadening monotony of plot and treatment, a fact which should not surprise us when we remember the vast productivity of Lope, Tirso, and Calderón. To avoid monotony, a dramatic revolution was necessary, while, in fact, the opposite process occurred in the crystallisation of forms. Then, too, Calderón's emphasis on the respect for royalty and on the *pundonor* was exaggerated intolerably, a completely artificial situation being created in every plot. In the verse gongorism and other forms of false taste ran riot and, by their very excess, killed dramatic poetry even as they had killed the lyric some years before.

It will be impossible—and indeed unnecessary—to deal with more than a few of the school of Calderón. The first in time was FRANCISCO DE ROJAS ZORILLA, a native of Toledo, about whom very little is known, beyond the fact that he was created a knight of Santiago in 1643 and died in 1648. He wrote some thirty plays, some of which were published in collections between 1640 and 1644. Collaboration had come into fashion, and he worked with Calderón and many other contemporary dramatists. His own works consist of tragedies, *comedias de gracioso*, and *comedias de figurón*. The best of the first group and perhaps the writer's masterpiece was *Del rey abajo, ninguno*, in which the respect for the king reaches its greatest height of exaggeration. The motive of the *pundonor* is also overdone. But there are some charming descriptions of country life, and, though the wit is less sparkling than Calderón's, the fooling of the *gracioso* is spontaneous and really amusing. The *comedias de gracioso* are decadent cape and sword plays in which the valet is more important than his master. Such, for instance, is *Donde hay agravios, no hay celos*. The

comedias de figurón are another variation in which the chief figure is grotesquely exaggerated. The best example of this is *Entre bobos anda el juego*. The plots of all these dramas are woven in the Calderonian manner, and the verse is not bad.

The best of the school was AGUSTÍN MORETO Y CAVAÑA (1618-69), a member of the household of the archbishop of Toledo and later a brother in a charitable order. He wrote about fifty plays, some of which were published between 1654 and 1681. His dramas fall into four groups according to treatment. The first is religious and deals mainly with lives of saints. Others are historical, like *Los jueces de Castilla*. The third group consists of comedies of character and contains his masterpiece, *El desdén con el desdén*. Lastly, there are the comedies of intrigue, like *El parecido en la corte*, in which the plot is more important than character sketching. Moreto lacked ingenuity and borrowed nearly all his plots, but he was redeemed by his excellent depiction of character and by the absence of affectation in his style. Like Rojas Zorilla, he produced *figurón* plays, *El lindo don Diego* being his best of this type.

ANTONIO COELLO Y OCHOA (1611-82) was a member of the household of the duke of Albuquerque, a knight of Santiago and a courtier. In his dramatic work he collaborated with many of the writers of his day, among others with Calderón and Rojas Zorilla. His best play is *El conde de Sex*, which, however, has sometimes been attributed to King Philip IV. It is hardly up to the standard of the plays already mentioned by his contemporaries. Of somewhat the same calibre was the Portuguese JUAN DE MATOS FRAGOSO (1608-89), who shows even greater positive evidence of decadence. Like Moreto, he borrowed his plots, but in most cases without improving on the original. A good lyric poet, he was skilful in the use of metre in his dramas and composed poetry of a high quality; but he ruined most of his verse by the introduction of gongorism. In fact, he is one of the worst offenders in this respect of all

the dramatists here selected for mention. His best work is *El sabio en el rincón*.

ANTONIO DE SOLÍS Y RIVADENEYRA (1610–86), who has been spoken of above as the author of *La historia de la conquista de Méjico* (1684), wrote plays of a merit little above those of the unnamed crowd. Perhaps his best drama is *La gitanilla de Madrid*, the plot of which is taken indirectly from Cervantes' novel. His plots are skilfully constructed and he shows a humour that is fresh, if broad; his poetic style—in contrast to his prose—is tainted with affectation. The last of the dramatists whom it is proposed to mention is FRANCISCO ANTONIO DE BANCES Y LÓPEZ-CANDAMO (1662–1704) an Asturian gentleman who, after spending his life as a courtier, was at last discarded and died in poverty. His plays, which were printed in 1722, are the moribund effort of the Siglo de oro. The plots are ingenious, but the style is bombastic, the characters wooden, and the whole utterly without life. His best effort was *El esclavo en grillos de oro*, but *El español más amante* is interesting as one of the many versions of the story of Macías el enamorado. His *zarzuelas* are among his best things, and it is to him that their survival is probably due. With him the drama of the Golden Age closes. It had reached glorious heights, but the greatness of Calderón arrested its growth, and the excesses of his followers brought about its downfall.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

Numerous monographs exist on the leading writers of the Golden Age. Among the most interesting are Aubrey Bell's *Luis de León* (Oxford, 1925) and C. L. Penney's *Luis de Góngora* (New York, 1926). For biographies of the greatest authors, see J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly's *Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra: a memoir* (Oxford, 1918); H. A. Rennert's *Life of Lope de Vega* (London, 1904); and Menéndez y Pelayo's *Calderón y su teatro* (Madrid, 1881). *Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors* by J. G. Underhill (New York, 1899) and *Corneille and the Spanish Drama* by J. B. Segall (New York, 1907) throw interesting sidelights on the relations of Spanish and foreign

literatures in this period. The history of the drama may be studied in M. Cañete's *Teatro español del siglo xvi* (Madrid, 1885) and in A. Morel-Fatio's *La 'Comedia' espagnole du 17^e siècle* (Paris, 1885), while H. J. Chaytor's *Dramatic Theory in Spain* (Camb., 1925) is an indispensable little 'source book.' For a study of the novel as a whole, the best work is Menéndez y Pelayo's *Orígenes de la novela* (Madrid, 1910); and a detailed discussion of the picaresque novel can be found in F. W. Chandler's *Literature of Roguery* (New York, 1907). Poetic texts are available in Menéndez y Pelayo's *Antología* and in the *Oxford Book of Spanish Verse*. Selections of dramatic works have been published in *Clásicos castellanos* (Madrid), the *Bibl. de aut. esp.* (Madrid), and in other collections. The works of prose writers will be found in the same series.

CHAPTER V

THE LEAN YEARS OF CLASSICISM

1700-1808

THE end of the 17th century saw a general decay of literary inspiration throughout western Europe. The causes of this phenomenon, which was perhaps more striking than the vigorous outburst that preceded it, are not far to seek. The geographical and spiritual forces which had been its mainspring had begun to weaken early in the century and had died away by the middle. The spacious days of great discoveries had drawn to a close, and men's imagination, which had been stirred by wonderful tales of the Golden City of Manoa and of realms peopled by 'anthropophagi and men whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders,' had suffered a reaction consequent upon disillusionment. On the other hand, the stimulus of the Renaissance was losing its potency. The acquisition of knowledge had been so rapid and so vast that surfeit had resulted, and the need was felt for systematic analysis and organisation of the new facts. Scepticism had entered men's minds and bidden them withhold belief until reason warranted it.

Particular causes had operated in Spain. The military ardour born of centuries of struggle with the Moors had died down, and the hitherto invincible Spanish infantry had been defeated at Rocroi. The wonderful deeds of Cortés and Pizarro had led to nothing. Spain's mighty empire in the New World had proved a delusion and a snare. The heavy hand of the Austrian dynasty and the tribunals of the Inquisition had crushed the spirit of initiative and independence which had made the nation the leader of Europe.

The great age of action was now succeeded by one of convention and artificiality. The court of France, which dominated western European culture, was a glittering scene of unreality. Powdered wigs, masks, costumes, designed to hide the outlines of the wearer's figure, severe and meticulous etiquette, and preciousness of ideas and speech were its characteristic externals. Nature was hardly considered decent, and the drawing-room replaced the hall as the social focus. What was gained in polish was lost in vigour and originality. The carpet knight and the witty courtier reigned supreme.

Literature did not remain untouched. The practitioners were men of the court or their hangers-on, and literary success depended on the author's ability to conform with the fashions. Poetry became an exercise in the mannerisms of the day, a display of jargon and of superficial wit; its subjects were confined to the satire or eulogy of conspicuous persons. In Spain the disease was recognised and labelled 'gongorism' and 'conceptism,' and, as we have seen, even the genius of Calderón was tainted by it. It was not confined to verse, but spread to prose works of every kind and even to ecclesiastical oratory. Hence, literature became unreal and lifeless, divorced from popular taste. The dramatic precepts of Lope de Rueda were forgotten, and playwrights sought to please narrow circles of *cultoristas*. Literary works as a whole were the ephemeral productions of the passing fashion of a season and perished with it. Towards the end of the 17th century, therefore, Spanish literature was dying of inanition, withering like autumn leaves after the luxuriant summer of the Siglo de oro.

In 1700, just when literature was at its lowest ebb in Spain, a Bourbon prince came to the Spanish throne. That the historical results of this change of dynasty were deep and far-reaching is generally agreed; but the exact degree of its influence on literature cannot easily be ascertained. True it is that the first years of the new reign were

utterly barren of literary works, but this may be explained by the preoccupation of men's minds with the war of succession. The subsequent hundred years, during which hardly anything of permanent literary value saw light, may have been due to the need for a period of fallow after the excessive production of the previous age. A similar poverty is observable in the literatures of England and France, though the former did not suffer from the evils of a Bourbon king. Yet the literatures of England and Spain have one feature in common during the century in question, namely, the imitation of France. The entire subservience of Spain, a country individualistic by nature, was largely due to the influence of her French dynasty, and her late recovery and self-assertion must be attributed to the same cause.

The whole theory of literature in France at this period was repressive and constraining. Just as etiquette hedged in one's behaviour in the *salon*, so rules of form shackled the writer. The artistic precepts of Aristotle were twisted and turned into a system of dogma, almost a creed 'the which except a man believe he cannot be saved.' National literary traditions were swept aside as barbarous and were replaced by anachronistic imitations of the Greek and Latin classics. Boileau, the arch-priest of this new doctrine, had laid down its canons in an *Art Poétique*, imposing such disabilities on poetry as to reduce it to a mere academic exercise of wit. The verse drama was dealt such a blow that it did not recover for over one hundred years. Fortunately, prose was left unregulated and consequently became the medium of literature.

The immediate aim of the new Bourbon king was to catalogue and regulate literature. Louis XIV of France had been filled with an ambition to emulate the age of the Roman Augustus by patronising court literature ; but, like everything else, the works produced were expected to conform with the king's ideas and taste, and arbitrary standards had been set up by which literature was judged by constituted authorities. Philip V of Spain naturally wished to

imitate his grandfather, and he introduced some of the French machinery for regulating the work of writers. His first step was not merely of a harmless, but even of a highly beneficial character. It was the establishment of a national library in Madrid in 1712. Some 10,000 books and MSS. taken from the library de la Reina Madre or brought from France by the king formed the nucleus of the collection. Various private libraries have since been added to it, making it a worthy national museum of literature, and, after more than one shift of quarters, it has finally come to rest in the Biblioteca Nacional.

The next step was the formation of the Real Academia Epañola, in imitation of the Académie Française. The prime mover in this was don Juan Manuel Fernández Pacheco, Marqués de Villena and Duque de Escalona, who had gained favour and promotion from the king by his brave and energetic partisanship in the war of succession. The ostensible aim was to preserve the purity of the Castilian tongue at a time when it was being corrupted by the introduction of innumerable gallicisms, and to improve the elegance of literary works. The individualism of the Spanish authors has prevented its reaching anything like the power of the French prototype, and has restricted it to certain useful activities. Chief among these was the publication in six volumes between 1726 and 1739 of a dictionary of the Spanish language, which is usually known as *El diccionario de autoridades*. It was the first dictionary in Europe by some years and indeed was so far in excess of contemporary needs that in 1780 it was published in abridged form in one volume. The Academy also brought out an *Ortografía* in 1742 and an authoritative *Gramática* in 1771. Various subsequent editions have from time to time brought the dictionary and the grammar up to date. Between 1780 and 1784 a splendid edition of *El Quijote* was issued, and since then efforts have been made to produce worthy editions of the masterpieces of national literature. The Academy has sought to encourage writers by holding

poetic competitions and by offering prizes for literary works, but its efforts in this direction have not been markedly successful.

Another result of French influence was the formation of literary circles. One of these which began in 1735 developed finally into the Real Academia de Historia, an institution which still survives. Its object was to further historical research, and its 'transactions' include several papers of great importance, e.g. one by Campomanes, *Sobre las leyes y el gobierno de los godos en España*. Other academic societies were formed, but they were ephemeral and of small importance, since the individualism of Spanish writers ever makes them impatient of outside interference and the pooling of ideas and methods. An almost necessary corollary of the literary circle is the literary review, of which a considerable number began to appear in Spain. The first and most important was the *Diario de los literatos de España*, a quarterly of which several volumes were published between 1737 and 1742. It was modelled on *Le Journal des Savants*, and exercised a considerable influence on the development of literature. Many of its reviews of contemporary works are happily expressed and have had their judgment confirmed by subsequent generations.

Meanwhile, French influence was affecting Spanish manners and customs, and literature was thus indirectly acted upon. Smart society in the capital followed French fashions of dress more closely than ever, and assumed the habit of tricking out their conversation with snatches of French. In this way, a large number of words, usually quite unnecessary, were imported from across the Pyrenees to oust the native terms, and idiom adopted gallicisms by the score. The Spanish Parrot did indeed mingle his own tongue with his neighbours to form a strange jargon, and the term *purista* became an opprobrious epithet to be hurled at the head of the unfashionable. Not content with their own literature, Spaniards turned to the translations of French classics, which therefore became increasingly

common. Theatrical managers found it as profitable to stage the plays of Corneille and other French writers as to produce the works of the native dramatists. Even philosophy was affected, and the old semi-Eastern mode of thought which had existed for centuries in Spain gave way to Gallic ideas. During the forty years in which these changes were taking place, Spanish literary output was of a low order: not a single work deserving mention was produced between 1700 and 1737.

At length the silence was broken. After nearly forty years of hesitation, Spain seemed at last to be about to adopt the French theory of literature. Her spokesman was IGNACIO LUZÁN CLARAMUNT DE GUELVES Y GURREA, who was born in Saragossa in 1702 and educated in Italy. He spent his middle years in Madrid, where he became a member of the *Academia del Buen Gusto*. Between 1747 and 1749 he held a post in the Spanish embassy in Paris, and he died in 1754. In 1737, Luzán published his *Poética, o reglas de la poesía en general*, a digest of various French and Italian treatises on the nature, aims, and forms of literature. The first of its four parts gives a historical sketch of poetic development and defines and describes the nature of poetry according to the narrow pseudo-classical view. The succeeding parts deal with the three recognised forms of literature, the lyric, the drama and the epic. In the third part the pseudo-Aristotelian laws of drama are laid down with all the dogmatism of the classical school. The whole work shows an utterly mechanical view of this subject and is, in fact, a treatise on versification, not on poetry. It emphasises the importance of form, laying down meticulous rules for it, but it denies inspiration. The author's prosaic *Poesías* is a practical demonstration of the fallacy of this view. His *Poética* was, however, completely successful in its aims, for from its publication until 1833 the pseudo-classical rules dominated the whole field of Spanish literature.

Nevertheless, the new theory did not go beyond cultured

circles, and the bulk of the Spanish nation remained untouched by Luzán's work. Unfortunately, Spanish culture at this time was at a very low ebb. The activities of the Inquisition and the absolutism of the monarchy had at last borne its inevitable fruit and had reduced all but the cream of court and provincial society to a state of hopeless ignorance and superstition. Thought was crushed, learning was discouraged. The very universities fell into a state of decay from which they have never fully recovered. While in England and France science was laying the foundations on which modern progress has been built, the professors at Salamanca and Alcalá deliberately rejected new ideas and clung to medieval systems of thought. The great mass of people were illiterate and buried in a state of profound ignorance which made them ideal parishioners of an obscurantist priesthood.

Prose.—Partly because there was so much to be taught, but also because it regarded knowledge as a dangerous medicine to be carefully administered, the 18th century was a didactic age. While its output of literature was amazingly small and most of its representative authors would scarcely find a place in literary history had they lived in a more fortunate period, the number of writers on learned subjects was considerable. Unhappily for them, such writings are by their very nature bound to grow out of date in the course of time, so that the works of the few authors who are still remembered are known, not as standard works on their subjects, but for the historical interest associated with them, as the foundational treatises on their particular branches of learning.

One of the earliest of the writers was FRAY BENITO JERÓNIMO FELJOO (1676–1764), a professor of theology and philosophy, who, struck by the ignorance of the Spanish people, determined to make an effort to enlighten them and raise them from the night of medievalism in which they were plunged. Between 1726 and 1739 he wrote a series of essays on a wide variety of subjects, publishing them in

eight volumes under the collective title of *Teatro crítico universal*. Some years later he again published a similar work, this time under the name of *Cartas eruditas y curiosas*. The ground covered by these books is wide in the extreme, embracing most of the field of natural science as then understood, philosophy, social sciences, literature, and philology. A storm of protest was raised by the obscurantists, and a number of *Teatros anti-críticos* appeared; but Feijoo was not a single voice crying in the wilderness, and several authors came forward in his defence. Among them the best known was FRAY MARTÍN SARMIENTO, a scholar and a learned botanist, who supported his tutor's theme in *La demostración crítico-apologética del Teatro crítico* (1757). Sarmiento is better known, however, for his *Memorias de la historia de la poesía española*, a work whose acute literary criticism still repays perusal.

Other writers who must be mere names here are Enrique Flórez (1702-73), the author of *España sagrada*, a monumental history of the Spanish Church in fifty-one volumes; Pedro Rodríguez Campomanes (1723-1803), a distinguished economist and versatile writer, and Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro (1735-1809), a comparative philologist of European fame, who won Max Müller's admiration. Another philologist of note was GREGORIO MAYANS Y SISCAR (1699-1781) who in his *Retórica* showed an acumen of no mean order not only by his criticism, but also by his selection, which has made his work even now one of the best collections of prose extracts in the language. He was also the first biographer of Cervantes and edited the letters of various scholars of the previous age. A chrestomathy of prose writers was also published by ANTONIO CAPMANY, who is clearly distinguished as a discerning critic by the prologue and notes appended to the work.

Naturally, history came in for a good deal of attention, but it was treated as a scientific study rather than as a branch of literature. The writers did not aim at the sharp incisive epigram of Mariana or the sounding periods of de

Solís : patient research and consequent accuracy was their sole object. Hence, while more than one is remembered for his part in exploding this or that misconceived idea of the Middle Ages, their works are almost all forgotten. From this general oblivion may be rescued the name of JUAN FRANCISCO MASDEU (1744-1817), the author of an *Historia crítica de España y de la cultura española*. In this work, which was published between the years 1783 and 1805, many of the legends of the Middle Ages which had previously been received as authentic history were challenged and in most cases disproved. A similar line was taken by Rafael de Floranes Vélez de Robles y Encinas (1743-1801), who concentrated his attention on the *Crónica general* and the *Crónica del Cid* ; but his work has proved less permanent than that of Masdeu. JUAN BAUTISTA MUÑOZ (1745-1803) had greater pretensions to literary style than either of the foregoing historians. Entrusted by the Secretary for the Indies with the compilation of an *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, he spent so long in examining documents and other sources that in the end he produced only one volume of his projected work. That was published in 1793 and dealt only with the years 1492 to 1500. It is written in a cold, restrained style in imitation of the classics. The documents collected by Muñoz fill 125 volumes and are preserved in the Academia de la Historia.

Literary history had more than one exponent, though the only one worthy of mention here was JAVIER LLAMPILLAS (1781-1810), whose *Ensayo histórico-apologético de la literatura española contra las opiniones preocupadas de algunos escritores modernos italianos* was largely directed towards proving that Latin literature had not been debased by the Spanish writers of the Silver Age. The point at issue leaves us cold nowadays. What we care more about is Llampillas' opposition to the pseudo-classical theories. His attitude was the result of intense patriotism, which sometimes carried him too far ; but on the whole his work

shows that there were a few educated Spaniards who were dissatisfied with the imitation of foreign literature and the adoption of foreign standards.

The only prose works of the age which are to be regarded as *belles lettres* came from the pen of JOSEF CADALSO (1741–82), a soldier with a charm of manner and an attractive personality. Cadalso met an early death under tragic circumstances during the siege of Gibraltar. This won for his books a popularity undeserved by their intrinsic merit, and they have now almost passed into oblivion. The *Cartas marruecas* (1793) were, as the title suggests, modelled on the *Lettres persanes* of Montesquieu, but also show internal evidence of the influence of Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*. Their theme is the decadence of contemporary Spanish literature and culture. The *Eruditos a la violeta* is a prose satire on the superficiality of the times. Many touches in both these works remind the English reader not only of Goldsmith but also of Addison and even Swift: so closely similar were the developments of literature in England and Spain.

Prose satires were also written by Leandro Fernández de Moratín and *el padre Isla*. The former, of whom we shall hear more anon, inveighed in his *Derrota de los pedantes* (1789) against the evils of affectation in literature and the substitution of dull erudition for inspiration. But his invective on a host of unworthy and obscure authors was merely a stalking horse for the author's didactic purpose. Isla's work is better. He was responsible for more than one gibe at his contemporaries, but we shall confine ourselves to the mention of *El Triunfo del amor y de la lealtad, o día grande de Navarra*. This work was published in 1746 and satirised the festivities held at Pamplona in celebration of the accession of Ferdinand VI. So cleverly managed was the satirical praise of the persons mentioned that these gentlemen were at first delighted with the book, their satisfaction turning to wrath on the discovery of the real intentions of the author.

Isla was, however, destined for better work than a minor satire, and he is one of the half-dozen writers of the century whose names are known by others than students of literary history. His full name was JOSÉ FRANCISCO DE ISLA Y ROJO. Born in 1708, he was educated for the Church and became a Jesuit priest. Adopting the bombastic style introduced by the gongoristic Paravicino in the previous century, he soon found himself the fashionable preacher of the day. A number of sermons preached by him during this phase of his life have been collected and published in six volumes. They afford full evidence of the buffoonery to which the Spanish pulpit had descended. In 1758, however, he suddenly made a complete change of face, gave up his fashionable bombast, and even went so far as to satirise the style in a picaresque novel which he called *La historia del famoso predicador Fray Gerundio de Campazas alias Zotes*. This was an attempt to do for the ecclesiastical oratory what Cervantes had done for the novel. The book was, of course, banned by the Inquisition, but nevertheless it became popular and was secretly circulated. After the Jesuits were expelled in 1767, Isla spent his time in Italy and France writing a number of interesting letters about himself to his sister. He died in Bologna in 1781, leaving the novel *Gil Blas*, on which his reputation depends, to be published posthumously in 1783.

Gil Blas has the interest of being the focus of never-ending literary controversy. It is an amusing picaresque story of an innocent youth who is forced by circumstances and weakness of character into a life of crime. The character drawing is admirable, while the book as a whole has a universality which bids fair to defy the ravages of time. The long-windedness to which this type of novel was especially prone is conspicuously absent. The absence of descriptions of Nature and the concentration on social matters is essentially an 18th century trait, as is also the moral intention; but the author's fund of humour effectively conceals his didacticism. In fact, the work is second

to none of its kind in the Spanish language, not even to *Lazarillo*, of which it seems the true lineal descendant. *Gil Blas* is nevertheless a translation. The original was the work of Alain-René Lesage, a French playwright whose powers of skilful plagiarism were remarkable. His *Gil Blas* appeared in 1715, to be followed not long after by another rogue story, *Le Bachelier de Salamanque*.

Lesage's plagiaristic tendencies were well known and supplied an *a priori* argument that *Gil Blas* had been taken from a Spanish original. Voltaire, who had reasons for disliking Lesage, suggested in his *Siècle de Louis XIV* that the novel had been copied from *La Vidad de lo escudero Dom Marcos d'Obrego*. Isla had further learned from some unknown source that *Gil Blas* was the work of an Andalusian advocate who gave his MS. to Lesage when the latter was in Spain. Hence the *padre* entitled his version *Aventuras de Gil Blas de Santillana robadas a España, adoptadas en Francia por Mons Lesage, restituídas a su Patria y a su Lengua nativa por un Español zeloso, que no sufre que se burlan de su Nación*. In 1822, Antonio de Llorente, who championed the existence of a Spanish original, asserted that the original was a novel by de Solís called *El Bachiller de Salamanca*, the MS. of which was used by Lesage first for *Gil Blas* and later for *Le Bachelier de Salamanque*.

On the other hand, it has been pointed out that Lesage had never before made the slightest attempt to conceal his plagiarisms, and that his other imitations are easily referable to their sources. Voltaire's statement was due to mere spite, his version of the name of *Marcos de Obregón* being sufficient to prove that he was not even acquainted with that novel. Isla's assertion is of more importance, but unfortunately he did not name the advocate, nor has the MS. ever been produced, while the only point capable of being checked has proved to be wrong, for Lesage was never in Spain. Llorente's argument is certainly based on pure conjecture, for he was not able to bring forward any proof.

Champions of Lesage's originality are able to point to frequent errors in Spanish geography and history in the novel and to a number of allusions to Parisian society of Lesage's day as favouring their argument. They also assert that the undeniably Spanish elements in *Gil Blas* can all be traced to a variety of sources. Thus, the preface, the Corzuelo incident, the story of Camilla and Margellina, and several minor passages come from *Marcos de Obregón*; touches here and there are reminiscent of *Lazarillo*; the adventures of don Rafael with the Señor de Moyadas are taken from Mendoza's *Empeños del mentir*; Gil Blas' marriage for vengeance from Rojas' *Casarse por vengarse*; the story of Aurora de Guzmán from Diego de Córdoba y Figueroa's *Todo es enredos amor*; etc.

Their opponents declare the geographical and historical blunders to be due to Lesage's carelessness and regard the allusions to Parisian society as mere insertions by Lesage to make his work more piquant. They argue that *Gil Blas* has no antecedents in French literature, but occurs in the regular line of succession of Spanish rogue novels. And, above all, they point to the thoroughly Spanish atmosphere of the book, which always convinces Spaniards that they are reading a native product. For a man who had never even been in Spain to have caught the atmosphere and reproduce the local colour from a study of books was little short of a miracle. The question therefore remains: did Lesage perform this miracle, or did he use an MS. which was subsequently lost without leaving the slightest trace of its existence?

The Drama.—If prose writers were few and unsuccessful, the cause lay in the general poverty of inspiration and the repressive feeling exercised by the centralisation and regulation of national literature rather than in the direct action of the pseudo-classical rules, for these rules ignored prose, regarding it on the whole as too pedestrian to be real literature. Anyone could speak or write it; but only the man of letters could handle verse. Generally speaking, the

aims of the pseudo-classical school were cold truth, reason, the choice of the right word, and imitation of Greek and Latin classics. In the first three they were trying to correct the wild excesses of the end of the 17th century, and their theory was admirable when not pressed too literally. But in their insistence on making the ancient classical authors the rigid standard of modern literature, they forgot that what is suitable for one age may not be so for another, and though the great men who propounded the theories well understood what they were doing, they did not realise that they were giving hosts of petty minds an opportunity for shackling genius.

The pseudo-classical rules were supposed to come from a fragmentary work of Aristotle and had been given an absolute authority by the school of Boileau in France. They divided verse composition into four types : tragedy, comedy, the epic, and the lyric (the forms of which were strictly enumerated and defined). Tragedy was sharply marked off from comedy and set on a higher plane. It was not allowed the use of comic relief, nor was prose admitted in it ; on the contrary, a constantly lofty style was demanded, and in the characterisation of its hero no pettinesses or human touches of a more unbending kind were to be used to secure reality of portrayal. Its motives were confined to terror and pity, though admiration was grudgingly allowed later ; and the passion of love was jealously excluded. Action was strictly limited, lengthy descriptions of incidents being preferred to the spectacle of deeds : hence the long *tirades* of the French stage and the necessity for the invention of the *confidant* to serve as a stage audience of the narratives. Above all there was the rule of the three unities of time, place, and action, over which much ink has from time to time been spilt. Boileau summed it up as follows :—

Qu'en un lieu, qu'en un jour, un seul fait accompli
Tienne jusqu' à la fin le théâtre rempli.

(*Art Poétique*, III., 45-6.)

Plays in which the action was shifted from one place to another more than a day's journey away and in which a period of more than twenty-four hours was allowed to elapse were thus condemned. Among the damned would stand *Hamlet*, *El mejor alcalde el rey*, and *El alcalde de Zalamea*! The unity of action which demands the relevance of every part of the tragedy has naturally secured respect from every great dramatist. Comedy, being of an admittedly lower order, was less closely bound. It was not, however, to degenerate into vulgarity or farce, and the absence of personalities and satirical attacks was recommended. Its duty was to reflect ordinary life in a plot of simple though interesting construction. Wit and grace were to be its ornaments. The style was to hover between the loftiness of tragedy and the commonplace, an object so difficult to attain that the playwrights were forced to abandon the verse medium and take to prose.

The rules were not, of course, unknown to the dramatists of the Siglo de oro, but they were deliberately ignored as unpractical. Hence, the acceptance of the classical code by the cultured elements of the Spanish court involved the depreciation of writers like Lope de Vega, Tirso, and Alarcón, whose works were not included in the collection published by Huerta, although the editor was a patriotic supporter of Spanish dramatic traditions against the French innovations. When Luzán propounded the new rules and demanded compliance with them, he and other would-be writers of tragedy failed miserably. To supply the needs of the theatre, therefore, translations of Greek, Italian, and French plays were made, thus increasing the influence of France. Luzán's mantle fell on Nicolás Fernández de Moratín (1737-80), who supported his predecessor with an even more rigid pseudo-classical creed in *Desengaños al teatro español*. In 1762 he tried to put his precepts into practice in a comedy called *La petrimetra*; but admiration for the French rules had not percolated down to the Spanish people, and the actors refused to act the play.

Nothing daunted, Moratín wrote three tragedies and succeeded in having one of them, *Hormesinda*, played a few times. Various other writers, like Cadalso, Iriarte, Jovellanos, Meléndez Valdés, and Comella, also tried the new style, but without much success.

Spanish dramatic tradition was not without its champions. Chief amongst these was VICENTE GARCÍA DE LA HUERTA (1734-87) who after showing himself as incapable as his contemporaries of producing a good classical tragedy, compromised in *Raquel* between the Calderonian and the French style and achieved something of a contemporary success. In 1785 he published a number of full-length dramas and some *entremeses* in the old style, but his genius was not equal to the task which he had undertaken. Valladares and Zabala, who also tried to produce popular drama, showed an utter lack of artistry and merely pandered to the taste of the ignorant populace. The work of LUCIANO FRANCISCO COMELLA was better and seemed to catch some of the charm of the plays of the Siglo de oro, but it was spoilt by a wild disregard for probability and variety and by its pedestrian verse. The national tradition had in fact run to seed.

Meanwhile, out of the confusion due to the clash of systems there sprang a new kind of dramatic work which was wholly original and showed that the Spanish drama was not entirely dead. The new writer was RAMÓN DE LA CRUZ CANO Y OLMEDILLA. Born in 1731, he entered the civil service under the patronage of Condesa-Duquesa de Benevente, in whose household he lived. His life was uneventful, and he died—in circumstances about which there is some doubt—in 1794. He began his literary career by writing tragedies and comedies in the French style and by translating pieces from French and Italian. Among the latter was an adaptation of the French version of *Hamlet* by Ducis. Both his original works and his translations met with success, but his important contribution to literature was his development of the *sainete*

and *zarzuela*. The former was derived from the *pasos* and *entremeses* of the Siglo de oro and were short, light, dramatic pieces written in *romance* interspersed with popular songs. The *zarzuela* was a continuation of the musical comedy of the previous age. Strictly speaking, however, the plays belong to no type. They vary greatly in length, construction, and style, but are amusing and attractive, and sparkling with wit. The author took no pains to polish their style or perfect their dramatic construction, some of them being left without a *dénouement* and hardly any of them even bearing names. The best pieces are the short farces in which bourgeois characters and scenes are skilfully drawn. Ramón de la Cruz wrote about three hundred of these comedies of his, but only about a third of that number have been published. Naturally, the French school condemned this kind of drama, which ignored their rules, but the author was quite able to hold his own against his critics. Having public opinion on his side, he was able to devise a racy drama which is perhaps to be regarded as the forerunner of the *género chico* of the next century. Apart from this possible development, Ramón de la Cruz founded no school and had no imitators.

The next writer, however, was destined to put drama on its feet again and to start a movement which was to last well into the middle of the next century. This was LEANDRO FERNÁNDEZ DE MORATÍN, usually called the younger to distinguish him from his father Nicolás, the author of *Hormesinda*. Born in Madrid in 1760, he grew up in the atmosphere of the literary circles which formed round his father. He travelled abroad, chiefly on missions for Godoy, and while in England studied Shakspeare's works. Later, he held various minor official posts in Spain, taking the side of Joseph Bonaparte in 1808 and becoming librarian of the Biblioteca Nacional. After the expulsion of the French, he fled across the Pyrenees, ending his days in France in 1828. His character was not very edifying, but he had considerable literary talent and founded a dramatic school.

His chief works are four comedies : *El viejo y la niña* (1788), *La comedia nueva* (1790), *La Mojigata* (1804), *El sí de las niñas* (1805). They are brilliant prose dialogues which depend for their success on witty conversation and amusing situations. To some extent they resemble Sheridan's plays, although the best of them, *El sí de las niñas*, does not quite reach the standard of Sheridan's most successful pieces.

It may be as well to give an account of the plot of this play, so as to afford comparison with the comedies of the preceding century. But the reader must bear in mind that the plot is far less simple than a mere outline can make it appear to be. Paquita, a young lady modelled on the betrothed whom Moratín could never make up his mind to marry, is in love with Carlos, a young soldier, but is carried off by her people to Alcalá to be married to an elderly gentleman. Carlos is informed of this and hurries to the inn where Paquita is staying with her mother. There the lovers discover that the bridegroom-elect is Carlos' uncle and patron. At first, they are overcome with anxiety, but decide to pretend to bow to circumstances. The uncle in his turn discovers their love and, moved by their apparent readiness to submit to him, gives up his claim and allows them to marry each other.

Besides these original comedies, Moratín wrote some mediocre poetry and translated *Hamlet* and two of Molière's plays. His work was taken up by Bretón de los Herreros and other dramatists of the next period, who must be left to the following chapter.

Poetry.—During the first half of the century poetry was at such a low ebb that none of its works deserve mention here. The first name of any note is again that of Nicolás Fernández de Moratín, who however much he supported French theories in his literary criticism and dramas, largely disregarded them in his poetic works. His *Poeta* contained a number of lyrics of unequal value, the best being some cultured *romances* in the style of Góngora. The verse is

correct, showing considerable skill in manufacture, and the author frequently succeeded in imbuing his lines with not a little poetic feeling. His best known lyrics are *Una fiesta de toros en Madrid* and *Las naves de Cortés destruidas*. The former is probably the best lyric of the century, though its narrative of a bull fight does not lend itself to poetic treatment. A few stanzas will serve to represent the poetry of the 18th century.

Mas, ay, que le embiste horrendo
el animal espantoso !
Jamás peñasco tremendo
de Cáucaso cavernoso
se desgaja haciendo,

Ni llama así fulminante
cruza en negra oscuridad
con relámpago delante,
al estrépito tronante
de sonora tempestad,

Como el bruto se abalanza
con terrible ligereza ;
mas rota con gran pujanza
la alta nuca, la fiereza
y el último aliento lanza.

La confusión vocería
que en tal instante se oyó
fué tanta, que parecía
que honda mina reventó,
o el monte y valle se hundía.

The style of *Las naves de Cortés* is similar, but the piece is inferior. It is curious that in this age of criticism and scepticism one of the leaders of the critical movement should have spread abroad the false, though well-known, legend of the 'burning of the boats.'

Cadalso, who has already been mentioned for his prose works and a bad tragedy, also tried his hand at poetry. His chief work was *Noches lúgubres*, a poem inspired by the death of his mistress and owing much of its ideas to Young's *Night Thoughts*. Like its English prototype, it is as gloomy

as its name suggests. Cadalso also published a collection of minor poems under the title of *Ocios de mi juventud* (1773). Close adherence to the French rules made the pieces correct and stiff, suggesting the product of an academic exercise, though very occasionally some of the poems rise above the general level of mediocrity. In his later years Cadalso belonged to the Salmantine school of poetry, with the other writers of which we shall deal later.

Two poets demonstrated by their fables, a form of literature which has never been favoured in Spain, the effect of the pseudo-classical rules in forcing upon the nation literary forms that were foreign to it. The first was TOMÁS DE IRIARTE (1750-91), a strenuous supporter of French influence and the author of several poems which strongly reflect the work of Voltaire. He was actually arraigned before the Inquisition for accepting the new French philosophy of the sceptical school. He is now remembered only for his *Fábulas literarias*, a collection partly derived from previous fabulists, but containing many original tales. The idea of applying his apologues to literary criticism was entirely new and, while it narrowed down his field considerably and increased the difficulties of his work, yet it probably made his success all the greater. The stories are cleverly told and have an attraction absent in the more universally applicable fables. Their metre is varied, and the verse skilfully constructed; but the style is prosaic. Many of the fables are well known to every educated Spaniard. Among the best are *El burro flautista*, whose moral—

Sin reglas del arte
Borriquitos hay
Que una vez aciertan
Por casualidad,

might be applied outside literature; *Los dos loros y la cotorra*, in which the francophile author satirises the contemporary fashion in high society of tricking out the Spanish language with French words and phrases; and

El mono y el titiritero, which laughs at those who undertake things they know not how to do.

Almost exactly contemporary with Iriarte was FÉLIX MARÍA DE SAMANIEGO (1745–1801). His *Fábulas* were written for the purpose of education, a fact which may account for their lack of polish and finish. They are in no way original, but have been derived from various ancient and modern sources, especially from La Fontaine and Gay. One or two of his pieces, such as *La zorra y el busto* and *El parto de los montes*, stand out from the general level of prosaic verse by their neatness of expression, but Samaniego's average style is best illustrated by *El labrador y la cigüeña* :—

Un labrador miraba
Con duelo su sembrado,
Porque gansos y grullas
De su trigo solían hacer pasto.

Armó sin mas tardanza
Diestramente sus lazas,
Y cayeron en ellos
La cigüeña, las grullas y los gansos.

‘ Señor rústico, dijo
La cigüeña temblando,
Quíteme las prisiones,
Pues no merezco pena de culpados.

La diosa Ceres sabe
Que lejos de hacer daño,
Limpio de sabandijas,
de culebras y víboras los campos.

—Nada me satisface,
Respondió el hombre airado :
Te hallé con delincuentes,
Con ellos morirás entre mis manos ’.

La inocente cigüeña
Tuvo el fin desgraciado
Que pueden prometerse
Los buenos que se juntan con los malos.

The remaining poets of the century, with one exception, belonged to one or two groups. The exception was Moratín the younger, who composed a number of lyrics in imitation of Horace and various modern Italian writers like Goldoni. His style was somewhat artificial, and his efforts at artistic effect peep out everywhere. Hence, he was at his best in satirical pieces like *El filosofastro*. The groups to which he did not belong were the poetic schools of Salamanca and Seville, formal revivals of the looser circles which gathered around Luís de León and Herrera in the 16th century. They originated from the *Parnaso salmantina*, one of the many literary societies formed in imitation of Parisian *côteries*. The founders of this society were Fray Diego González and two of his pupils at Salamanca, who aimed at raising the standard of lyrical poetry by imitating the style of Luís de León. There seems, however, to have been no intention of forming a definite school of literature, and the very names of the originators have often been forgotten and their idea attributed to Cadalso. The members of the society imagined themselves to be the conventional country folk of pastoral literature and gave themselves poetic names. González, for instance, was known as Delio. Membership soon spread, and Cadalso, Jovellanos and Forner, joined the circle under the respective names of Dalmiro, Jovino, and Aminta. Cadalso's connexion with the society was slight, but the talent of the other two quickly raised the circle above the standard of a private gathering.

GASPAR MELCHOR DE JOVELLANOS (1744-1810) was a lawyer and statesman, whose *Memoria en defensa de la Junta Central* (1808) is of literary as well as historical importance. He published several other works on history, law, and politics, and wrote two bad plays. His poetic writings consist of lyrics, satires, and epistles, all in the pseudo-classical style, except some of the first, which are *letrillas*, *romances*, and some idylls written in accordance with the ideas of the Salmantine school. One of his epistles

was addressed *a mis amigos de Salamanca* and sets out the aims of the society. JUAN PABLO FORNER (1756-97) was a satirical and controversial writer. His chief work was *Exequias de la lengua castellana*, a satire in which prose and verse are mingled. It is really an acute criticism of contemporary literature and proves the author to have been a man of scholarly and original thought. Apart from this work, his poetical output was slight, and consisted mostly of satires.

With JUAN MELÉNDEZ VALDÉS (1754-1817) the Salmantine school began a new phase. Previously, Luís de León had been the poetic model, but Meléndez Valdés added Garcilaso de la Vega and composed an eclogue, *Batila*, after the style of that brilliant soldier. His odes in the manner of Luís de León show the influence of Jovellanos, and are among the best pieces of poetry written in the 18th century. To this school also belonged Manuel José Quintana, whose work will, however, best be dealt with in the next chapter.

The Salmantine school aroused in the hearts of various Sevillian poets a desire to revive the poetry of Herrera. The result was the formation of the *Pléyade poética*, a society whose members were Alberto Lista, Blanco White, Arjona, Reinoso, Roldán, Castro, and Núñez. It was no rival of the school of Salamanca; on the contrary, Jovellanos actually addressed one of his poetic epistles to it by way of encouragement. But its members did not possess the talent necessary for success, and the only ones deserving more than nominal mention were Alberto Lista, who was later to play a leading part in the romantic movement and who will be referred to again in the next chapter, and José María Blanco, who during his stay in England assumed the name of White. His best work is perhaps a sonnet in English entitled *Mysterious Night*.

This closes our account of the Classical Age, a notably barren period in the history of literature. Of its poets none but Iriarte and Samaniego still retain their

popularity, while among the dramatists Ramón de la Cruz and Moratín the younger are alone remembered. Most of its prose works were on matters of passing interest or on subjects which have made them out-of-date, and Isla's translation of *Gil Blas* stands out as the one permanent product. It is significant that in the Oxford Book of Spanish verse only four authors and five lyrics represent the whole century. If the Siglo de oro may be likened to a equatorial forest in its over-luxuriant growth and mighty trees, this age may be compared with a garden of shrubs, clipped yews, and ordered paths.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

There is no good manual on 18th century Spanish literature, Cueto's *Historia crítica de la poesía castellana en el siglo xviii* (Madrid, 1898) being too long and confined to poetry. But the general reader will benefit from a study of Stewart and Tilley's *Classical Movement in French Literature* (Camb., 1925). For the relation between Spanish and French literature during the period, see G. Huszar's *L'influence de l'Espagne sur le théâtre français du 18e et 19e siècles* (Paris, 1912). The works of the leading writers can be had, with good prefaces, in the *Bibl. de aut. esp.*

CHAPTER VI

THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT AND ITS AFTERMATH

(1808-98)

LITERATURE is a mirror of contemporary social and political conditions. The 18th century in Spain and France had been a time of autocratic kings, glittering courts, and artificial society. State interference even in literature, begun under Louis XIV in France, had led to regulation and had produced a static condition from which nothing short of complete upheaval could redeem the two countries. In France the Revolution of 1789 had effectively uprooted the binding weeds of tradition and rule and had cleared the ground for the cultivation of fresh ideas. But militant democracy, followed by imperial aggression, had given little opportunity for the budding of literature, though a full crop of political and social experiment had been achieved. In Spain, where the social condition was not so rotten and where respect for Church and State continued unimpaired, no similar development took place, and the old order of things survived the end of the century.

A change was bound to come soon, however, for democratic tendencies were in the air. The old absolutism had been discredited by Napoleon's easy victories over his continental neighbours, and England's successful resistance against his aggression raised the popular estimate of constitutional government. Progressive, or liberal, views were spreading throughout western Europe, and, though political changes did not come about in some countries till half a century later, literary principles had undergone a revolution in England and in Germany. A revolt of interest from classical Greek and Roman themes to those of the

Middle Ages was shown by the popularity of Macpherson's *Ossian* and the forgeries of Chatterton. Wordsworth was preaching and practising a return to Nature in poetry. Scott was inventing the historical novel in prose and verse, introducing into his work a love for the Middle Ages and a glamour of situation and character which lent a new colour to his scenes. Similar developments were seen in Germany in the work of Goethe and Schiller, but more especially in the critical studies of Schlegel and others, who aroused an appreciation of the dramas of Shakspeare, Calderón, and other 16th century authors. In France the same tendencies were visible in Bernardin de Saint Pierre's *Paul et Virginie* and in the manifold works of Chateaubriand. Spain, too, showed a spark of interest, for a translation of *Atala* appeared in 1803 and was followed by versions of other French works. But the hand of the 18th century still lay too heavily on the Peninsula to allow of original production.

The force that was to overthrow the old order came from without. In 1808 the French invasion of Spain shook the monarchy to its foundations, and, during the six years of war that followed, Spanish society and its old traditions were destroyed in the same way as English social traditions were overturned by the War of 1914-18. Deprived of their sovereign, the Spanish people were forced to set up a Junta to fill the gap, and in carrying out this task they resorted to a constitution designed to respect the rights of all parts of the country and to bind the provinces together in the face of the enemy. The compulsory experiment grew as the years went by, and a party favouring progressive constitutionalism gradually developed a theory and practice of democratic government. Such liberalism, however, did not suit the restored Bourbon king, and a crisis followed. The European powers, frightened at the ideas spread abroad by the French Revolution, had formed among themselves a Holy Alliance to bolster up threatened monarchies. The king of France, anxious to pander to the warlike spirit of

his people and to emulate the conquests of Napoleon, despatched an army under the Duke of Angoulême. The 'grande promenade' of this force through Spain set Ferdinand VII on a firm seat of absolutism and banished liberalism for a decade. Literary censorship formed part of political repression, and Spanish writers were unable to express themselves freely and develop the new ideas which were thronging upon them.

Yet signs of change were evident from time to time. The translation of French works in the new spirit continued, *Paul et Virginie* appearing in 1818 and others following in close succession. Works of French origin were not open to suspicion, being sanctioned by 18th century custom, and writers felt less responsibility for translated ideas than for original expression of thought. More important, however, was the set controversy which took place from 1814 to 1819 between Böhl de Faber, the champion of the new ideas, and J. J. de Mora, the defender of existing practice. The former was a German and derived his notions from the school of Schlegel. Polemics were useless, nevertheless, for public opinion had already decided in favour of freedom in literature as it had decided in favour of liberalism in politics. Even writers of the old school, like Alberto Lista (1775-1848), showed no animosity to the new ideas. In fact, this eminent professor, though himself wholly attached both by inclination and training to the old school, went so far in his lectures as to trace the ascent of the new ideas to Calderón and other dramatists of the 17th century. His addresses were suspended during the years 1823-33 owing to Ferdinand's repressive measures, but after the king's death Lista helped considerably in clarifying the ideas of the new school. Further encouragement was given by another scholar and critic, Agustín Durán (1789-1862), in a pamphlet on the old Spanish theatre. Finally, in 1823, just before the reign of Ferdinand's absolutism began, a review called *El Europeo* was founded to give expression to the new ideas.

On the whole, writers were forced to restrain their feelings and to fall in with Ferdinand's ideas. Others, and many of the most brilliant, were driven into exile in France and England, where they were able to satisfy their craving for literary freedom. The command of English and French which they gained enabled them to read the works of Byron, Scott, Dumas, and others and to imbibe fully the principles which guided these authors. The death of the king of Spain, the disputed succession, and the support of Isabel II by the liberal party freed Spain from tyranny in the sphere of literature as well as in that of politics. The exiles flocked home to support their constitutional sovereign and to give to their country the literary output which had been maturing during their years of exile. Not less did those who had avoided banishment find relief in the king's death. Hence, the year 1834 saw an outburst of the new literature and in a sense marks the beginning of the period during which it flourished.

It is now time to attempt a description of romanticism, as the new movement was called. No successful definition of it has yet been achieved. Victor Hugo called it liberalism in literature, others have termed it 'a return to Nature and an expression of interest in the Middle Ages.' The truth is that it had many aspects and tended to emphasise different ones in the various countries in which it appeared. Like the Renaissance, it was a European movement and it tended to be modified in each country by peculiar local conditions. In Spain it was not so much a return to Nature as a breaking of the bonds of the 18th century. Even in the same country it showed different aspects in different writers. The romanticism of Wordsworth is not the romanticism of Scott, nor is the romanticism of Hartzenbusch the same as that of Enrique Gil y Carrasco.

Yet a description of its characteristics is easy. First and foremost, it was a cult of inspiration, an expression of the author's personality, as against the impersonal methods of the classical school. Hence, it tended to be egoistic.

Poets like Byron in England and Espronceda in Spain looked inwards for inspiration, and the characters they depict, be they Childe Harold or Don Juan, are at bottom Byron or Espronceda. Introspection and external struggle, whether political or social, frequently induced a feverish atmosphere which led to sentimentality on the one hand or to morbidity and melancholy on the other. It is surprising how many of the romantic writers died young. In some cases suicide was brought on by fevered brains, in others accidental or premature death was caused by irregularity of life. The votaries practised in real life the disorderliness and defiance of rule which formed a principle of their literary code. In their sincerity they described the life they led or observed in others, avoiding the artificial and conventional methods of the classical school. Hence, they insisted on mingling tragedy with comedy, a commonplace fact of life, but a literary procedure barred by the pseudo-classical theorists. Whenever their themes were not purely subjective, they turned to the Middle Ages for their matter, rejecting classical mythology and all its allusions, and substituting—often with imperfect knowledge—medieval legends. Sometimes they went so far as to forge apocryphal poems of the Middle Ages, as in the well-known case of Chatterton in England and perhaps in that of Macpherson in Scotland. They applied little critical sense to their use of legend, nor did they hesitate to modify history itself to serve their ends.

These characteristics were differently applied to the several departments of literature. Romantic poetry is marked by sincere descriptions of nature, by more attention to subject matter and less to form. The drama eschewed the observance of pseudo-classical rules, especially those concerning the unities ; it avowed its admiration for and imitation of Shaksperian principles of construction ; it deliberately mingled comedy with tragedy so as to attain relief effect ; and it achieved a type of work which was neither tragedy nor comedy, but an intermediate kind

known to the French as *drame*. Prose works were modified by romanticism in style rather than in form, though the novel was developed and became the most popular branch of Spanish literature.

Although the romantic movement in Spain was the reflection of a political change of thought, yet subsidiary, though not unimportant causes were at work, directing the general flood of new ideas into local channels. Among these, not the least was the collapse of French predominance, with all its court artificiality. Spaniards realised that the uncomfortable *ancien régime* which had been foisted upon them had been discredited in its country of origin and they were not willing to continue with an exotic fashion which had proved a failure at home. Moreover, the country as a whole had never accepted the classical school and its theories. The court and its satellites had alone attempted to practise them, and even in these hot-house surroundings classical theories had only begun to strike root at the very end of their time. Quintana and Nicasio Gallego alone show sincerity of spirit combined with classical art. By the end of the 18th century men were tired of imitation of dead literatures which were unsuitable to modern times. They were turning rather to foreign works, especially current English and German literature and French imitations of these, and were finding them more in accord with the spirit of the age. One of the new developments was the rise of journalism, a system founded on a basis of accurate report of news. Most of the Spanish romanticists were forced to eke out slender means by writing for periodicals, and men trained in such a school chafed at the curb imposed by the old theories.

On the whole, therefore, the romantic movement was a rejection of mechanical composition and a revival of art. Its writers refused to be shackled and demanded freedom of expression. One outcome of this was that the movement was dominated by lyricism, and lyricism is an expression of the individual. Nevertheless, it must be confessed that

Spanish romanticism was, during its earlier and more vigorous moments, almost wholly imitative. No great writer appeared, no original genius adorned Spanish literature, as Scott, Shelley, Lamb, Coleridge, and a host of others in England; or Victor Hugo, Sainte-Beuve, and Balzac in France; or Goethe and Schiller in Germany had adorned their respective literatures. It has been noticed, too, that in these early moments Spanish romanticism was a literature written by men for men. Perhaps this is why the female characters created by the writers of fiction are so far superior to the males.

The struggle between romanticism and classicism was not serious in Spain. Apart from the controversy between J. J. de Mora and Böhl de Faber, classicism passed quietly away. There were none of the heated debates, fierce discussions, and intriguing interventions of the *claque* as there were in France. The public was not interested, and even among men of letters political disputes and troubles distracted attention, while monarchic oppression threw the leaders of thought into the progressive camp in a body. The institutions which might have been expected to show conservative resistance were weak. The Spanish Academy had no real authority, and the universities were decayed. Patriotism played its part, moreover. No one was willing to defend a system which was regarded as a transplantation from France, while Spanish vanity was flattered by the new ideas which were causing foreign critics to class Calderón with Shakspeare and to find glories in the works of the Siglo de oro. Finally, when the movement was free to start in 1833 the battle was already won in neighbouring countries.

It is not easy to decide the limits of the romantic period. Since literary changes are always in the nature of slow developments, all divisions into periods must be fixed arbitrarily. But the difficulty of choosing dates is greater here than usual. One might say that 1808 was a good date to mark the beginning, since the political upheaval began

then. But no work which may be described as completely romantic was published till over twenty years later. Other possible dates are 1834, the year of the great literary outburst, and 1833, when the death of Ferdinand VII made the outburst possible. The latter has been chosen in order to emphasise the close relation of literature and politics. The end-date is clearly marked by the Spanish-American War of 1898, which led to another literary revolution. We shall therefore regard 1808-33 as a period of transition and 1833-98 as the age of romanticism. This age, however, falls into two sub-periods: the romantic period proper, which lasted from 1833 to 1868 (the end of the reign of Isabel II), and the aftermath, which covered the years 1868-98.

The Transition Period (1808-33).—One of the hard tasks of the literary historian is that, while for convenience' sake he must divide his subject into natural periods, yet at the same time he must try to present the development of literature as a continuous growth. Just as the excesses of the Siglo de oro led to the regulation of the 18th century, so the impersonal, shackled formalism of the latter was naturally followed by the romantic reaction; and at each end the 18th century period overlapped and dovetailed into its neighbours. While classicism was yet at its height, we find the younger Moratín translating Shakspere, and as early as 1804 Montengón y Paret published a Spanish translation of an Italian version of *Ossian*. On the other hand, we shall find the spirit of the 18th century persisting well into the second quarter of the 19th, when romanticism had actually passed its zenith.

The most typical writer of the transition was MANUEL JOSÉ QUINTANA (1772-1857), a native of Madrid, who was educated at Salamanca. In early life he was imbued with the ideas of the 18th century. An imitation of Boileau's *Art Poétique*, written for a competition in 1791, was followed in 1801 and 1805 by two dramas in the classical style. His *Oda a la invención de la imprenta* (1800) is a model of

prosaic materialism set in verse. The *Oda a la expedición española para propagar la vacuna en América* (1806) is similar, though even more pedestrian. The outrage of May 2nd, 1808, filled Quintana with patriotic anger which found expression in his *Oda al armamento de las provincias españolas contra los franceses*. This is his best poem. Though generously sprinkled with allusions to Mars, Bellona, and the rest, the piece is nevertheless redeemed by the sincere passion of an indignant patriot.

Quintana joined the Junta Central as secretary and after the war became a constitutionalist, incurring the wrath of the monarchists. From 1820 onwards he held various posts in the civil service, remaining poor, but generally respected. His leisure was devoted to the study of history and between 1807 and 1832 he published his *Vidas de españoles célebres*. This work, which more than any other exemplifies the transitional position of the author, is an imitation of Plutarch written in a severe classical style, yet it betrays an interest in the Middle Ages, which was significant of the revolution to come. Although the author showed a want of understanding of the Middle Ages in his essays on the Cid and Guzmán el Bueno, yet his studies of the later characters, especially those of Álvaro de Luna and Pizarro, rank among the best pieces of Spanish historical prose. After 1830 Quintana wrote nothing worthy of notice, and he remains therefore wholly a writer of the transitional period.

Like him in many respects was his friend JUAN NICASIO GALLEGO (1777–1853). In 1808 he joined Quintana in the poetic protest against French aggression, and his *Dos de Mayo* is a companion piece, though inferior, to his friend's *Oda al armamento*. After some trouble with the absolutists, he became perpetual secretary to the Spanish Academy and spent his life in literary pursuits. His translation of Manzoni's *I promessi sposi* indicates a leaning towards the new ideas, though his literary criticism denies this. A distinct romantic flavour exists in *El conde de Saldaña*, a

poem on a medieval subject, which successfully attempts the imitation of the old *romance* measures. But the spirit of the poem is that of the 18th century, and no better contrast between classicism and romanticism can be had than that between the *Conde de Saldaña* and one of Scott's verse-novels. Like Quintana, Gallego was in his youth a member of the Salmantine group of poets.

While the writers just mentioned kept a more or less even balance between the old and the new styles, others began their literary career as 18th century writers and ended by conversion to romanticism. Chief among them were Martínez de la Rosa, Bretón de los Herreros, and Antonio Gil y Zarate, all of whom were born in the 18th century. The eldest of them, MARTÍNEZ DE LA ROSA (1787-1862), was a pupil of the old die-hard J. J. de Mora and began his career as a professor of philosophy. The French invasion swept him out of the academic fold and drove him to write a patriotic ode in the style of Quintana on the siege of Saragossa. But *Zaragoza* is neither so inspired nor so technically skilful as the *Oda al armamento*. In drama he was more successful. His early plays were either Moratinian comedies, e.g. *Lo que puede un empleo*, *Los celos infundados*, and *La niña en casa y la madre en la máscara*; or tragedies written in a thoroughly classical spirit, e.g. *La viuda de Padilla* (1814), *Moraima* (1818), and *Edipo*. Of these *La niña en casa* is the only one which survives. It was adapted for the Paris stage and met with success.

Banished to France in 1821, Martínez de la Rosa caught the infection of romanticism and produced *Aben Humeya*, a tragedy dealing with a Moorish rising in the reign of Philip II. On his return home in 1833 he wrote *La conjuración de Venecia*, a drama dealing with the famous attempt in 1810 to overthrow the Council of Ten. It was played in April, 1834, and was thus the first romantic piece acted in Spain. Though it is in prose, it bears traces of the classical tragedy; yet it evinces the mystery, sentiment,

and passion which distinguish the romantic stage. After this Martínez de la Rosa gave up the drama for the service of his country, spending his leisure, however, in various literary efforts, of which the best are a novel entitled *Doña Isabel de Solís* written in the manner of Scott, a biography of Hernán Pérez del Pulgar (*el de las hazañas*), and a collection of satirical epitaphs called *El cementerio de Momo*.

MANUEL BRETÓN DE LOS HERREROS (1796–1873), unlike most of his contemporaries, took no part in politics, but pursued a literary career and occupied various posts in the civil service, ending with the directorship of the Biblioteca Nacional and permanent secretaryship of the Spanish Academy. He was a member of the literary circle known as El Parnasillo, dabbled in journalism, and wrote facile verse of no high standard. Some of his satires were of biting contemporary interest. He was, however, first and foremost a dramatist. Before 1834 he wrote Moratinian comedies, the first being *A la vejez viruelas*, which was written in 1817, though not staged till 1824. Its success led to his rapid production of other plays, of which the best are *Marcelao ¿cual de los tres?* (1831), *Todo es farsa en este mundo*, *Me voy de Madrid*, and *El pelo de la dehesa*. They are all comedies of manners and demonstrate the author's great sense of humour. The character-drawing is good, though superficial. Some of his personages are said to reproduce actual persons, but the duel in which he lost his eye was not caused by resentment against his dramatic satire.

In 1834 he caught the epidemic of romanticism, producing a mediocre drama, *Elena*, and two historical plays: *Don Fernando el Emplazado* and *Vellido Dolfos* both on medieval themes. But Bretón was never happy in romantic drama. He actually satirised it in *El poeta y la beneficiada*. Hence, he returned to a kind of modified Moratinian comedy and thus became the ancestor through Tomayo y Baus of the modern drama. The best of these later works is *La escuela del matrimonio* (1851). Bretón was a skilful play-

wright, a fluent versifier, and a literary caricaturist of no mean order. In a sense he is the last of the 18th century dramatists. Not a few plays of his are still worthy of revival.

ANTONIO GIL Y ZÁRATE (1796–1863) was a francophile, having been educated in Paris. His early work consisted of pseudo-classical tragedies, of which the best known are *Rodrigo, último rey de los godos* and *Blanca de Borbón*. But later he was influenced by romanticism and wrote various dramas, the best of which are *Guzmán el Bueno* and *Carlos II el Hechizado*. He also produced in this phase some comedies like those of Bretón's latest style, among which may be mentioned *Cuidado con las novias* and *Un año después de la boda*.

The Romantic Period (1833–68).—Thus far we have dealt with writers who had romanticism thrust upon them. We now come to those who achieved the new movement. The most important historically is ÁNGEL DE SAAVEDRA (1791–1865), the younger son of a noble family, who later succeeded to the title of Duque de Rivas. Having taken part in the War of Independence and imbibed constitutionalist ideas, he was forced into exile in 1823. Up to that time his literary works, which included lyrics, comedies, and tragedies, were all in the pseudo-classical style. Pale and uninteresting, they show imagination, but slight literary skill. The period of exile brought about a complete change in don Ángel's ideas. A sojourn first in England and afterwards in Malta brought him into contact with English literature. At Malta he became a friend of John Hookham Frere, the English scholar, who put an ample library at his disposal and introduced him to the works of Scott and Byron. The former writer, together with Shakspeare, gained great influence over him, and in a lyric named *El faro de Malta*, which was written in 1828, he showed himself a definite convert to romanticism.

On his return to Spain in 1834 he published a narrative poem, or verse-novel, *El moro expósito, o Córdoba y Burgos*

en el siglo XI, in imitation of Scott's *Lady of the Lake* and other poems of the same sort. Its subject is the story of the Infantes de Lara. Like Scott, don Ángel had a defective knowledge of the Middle Ages, but he did not take the same large amount of trouble as the Scottish poet did to make himself acquainted with the time of his tale. Anachronisms, wrong contemporary colour, and other false historical attributes are defects conspicuous to modern readers whose education in these matters has so much improved. But the Spanish spirit is caught and would redeem the poem, were it not for the pedestrian nature of the verse. Nevertheless, *El moro expósito* won contemporary favour and marks the true beginning of the romantic period.

Two years later, don Ángel, now Duque de Rivas, produced the drama of *Don Álvaro, o la fuerza del sino*. The story tells of a man of mysterious origin who falls in love, but accidentally shoots the father of his beloved. The young lady retires to a convent, while don Álvaro, believing her dead, goes off to the Italian wars. He is pursued by Leonor's two brothers, one of whom he kills in a duel. After this don Álvaro also retires into a religious house; but he is found by the second brother. A struggle ensues and brings on the death of don Álvaro, Leonor, and her brother. The passion rises to a great height, but unfortunately the verse is prosaic. The author pays no heed to the unities, breaking even that of action, which Shakspeare realised to be so indispensable. Consequently, the plot is confused. The character-drawing is weak, the conduct of don Álvaro being incredible. But there is a vigour and fluency in the piece which makes it one of the best representatives of the romantic movement in Spain, although not placing it among the dramatic masterpieces of the literature of that country.

In 1841 he again turned to poetry and published some *Romances históricos*. This work contained verse stories of historical incidents and is the best thing the Duque de Rivas ever did. The one called *Un castellano leal*, which

relates how a Spanish nobleman burnt his ancestral home after being forced by Charles V to besmirch it by receiving as his guest the traitor Constable of Bourbon, is the best. The author has chosen his theme well, treated it from the most effective angle, and narrated it in fluent, yet not ignoble verse. Somewhat similar were the separate legends published later and of which the best were *El universalio* and *Maldonado*. The Duque de Rivas wrote several other dramas, poems, and even a prose work or two besides these, but they are of inferior worth and even without historical value.

We must now go back to 1834 to pick up the thread of the story of romanticism which we have rather lost in following up the life of the Duque de Rivas. In that year besides *El moro expósito* there also appeared a historical novel, *El doncel de don Enrique el Doliente*, by José de Larra on the story of Macías el enamorado. The imitation here is from Dumas, and not from Scott. In April there appeared Martínez de la Rosa's *Conjuración de Venecia* which has already been mentioned, and in September a drama named *Macías* by Larra. These were the works which form the literary outburst of 1834 and which launched the romantic movement on its career.

MARIANO JOSÉ DE LARRA (1809-37), who provided two of these works, was educated in his early years in France, but received the bulk of his training in Spain. At the age of twenty he married against the advice of his parents and quickly regretted his action. He soon entered the literary circles of Madrid and appeared at the famous *tertulias* of El Parnasillo. Troubles in his irregular love for someone not his wife brought about his suicide at the age of twenty-eight when he had probably not reached his literary zenith. His early works consisted of some lyrics of slight value and in the 18th century style, together with some comedies of the Moratinian type. The best of these was *No más mostrador*. But Larra joined wholeheartedly in the romantic movement, and in September, 1834, he embodied the

ideas of the new school in *Macías*, a drama on the subject of the unfortunate Gallegan lover. It was too complicated for the stage and was, like Hugo's *Cromwell*, meant for the reader only. It was thus merely a dramatised novel, and in the same year Larra published his novel, *El doncel de don Enrique el Doliente*, on the same subject. In both play and novel the author evidently had his eye more on romantic features than on the plot or the form, and consequently the one is weak and disjointed, while the other ill-balanced and crude. Larra's fame rests on his essays published in various journals. Some were descriptions or satires on manners and customs; others were of a political nature; while many were literary. The last show him to have been a shrewd judge of literature. His critical essay on *El trovador*, which appeared soon after the play was first produced, is still the best on the subject. He was also a keen observer and had a vein of biting satire, though there is more of sorrow than of anger in *Vuelva V. mañana*, a skit on the slackness of contemporary Spanish officials. *El castellano viejo* (one might translate this by the modern phrase 'die-hard') jests at the conservatism of certain sections of the society of the day. *El día de Difuntos de 1836* is the best known of his political writings. Historically, Larra is important as the author of *Macías*; but his essays place him among the leaders of the romantic movement. His success was very great in his lifetime and consequently one is prone to overrate him; but his influence was immense in his generation and for this reason he is more important in literary history than his rank as a prose writer would warrant.

Now that we have launched the romantic movement with the Duque de Rivas and Larra, it will be possible to trace its development in the various branches of literature. The drama was the main battlefield of the old and the new orders, since the pseudo-classical rules had been most definite and clear concerning that *genre*. Nor could romanticism be deemed to have won the day until it had produced

a success on the stage. Its first efforts were wild and disordered, overdoing the disregard of rules and going to extremes, as revolutionaries commonly do. An effort at steadiness is noticed in *El trovador*, staged in 1836. The author was ANTONIO GARCÍA GUTIÉRREZ (1813-84). Rejecting the medical profession to which his father had destined him, Gutiérrez took to literature, but unlike Larra found difficulties in earning enough to live on. He therefore enlisted as a militiaman in the Carlist war, obtaining his release on the success of *El trovador*. After spending a few years in Central America and Cuba, he represented his country on a special commission in England and ended as curator of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional.

El trovador is written in lofty, passionate, and beautiful verse, and is a poem rather than a play. It is pseudo-historical, since its connexions with Aragonese history are slender. The character-sketching is light, the only telling personage being Azucena the gipsy woman. Manrique, the hero, is too irresponsible to be coherently drawn. The plot suffers from being split into two parts, the love story and the vengeance of the gipsy. The passion is overdone, rising to painful heights in the final act. As an opera by Verdi, the play is a great success, but as a drama it is too removed from life to be of permanent interest. Gutiérrez continued to write dramas at intervals, but none have been so successful as his first. The best are *El encubier-to de Valencia*, *El tesorero del rey*, *Juan Lorenzo*, and *Simón Bocanegra*.

The year after the first staging of *El trovador* saw the performance of *Los amantes de Teruel*, a drama by JUAN ENGENIO HARTZENBUSCH (1806-80). The author was the son of a German cabinet-maker, who had settled in Madrid, and of a Spanish mother. Paternal influence made him a careful scholar and an able constructor of plots, but he lacked poetic inspiration and skill in the portrayal of character. As early as 1831 he had attempted to produce a historical drama in the romantic manner, but his effort

was a failure. His second attempt was *Los amantes de Teruel*, which proved an unqualified success. The story was that of Pérez de Montalban, remodelled to suit Hartzzenbusch's purpose. Much discussion has taken place on the probability of the ending, but apart from this defect the plot is well constructed. The author's painstaking nature caused him to correct and amend a great deal, usually with good results. But the poetry is not of a high order. Marsilla is a true romantic character: highly coloured, but lacking in solidity. Nor is any other personage fully drawn. In fact, one remembers the plot, but not the persons in it.

Hartzzenbusch produced other historical dramas, like *La ley de la raza*, *Alfonso el casto*, and *La madre de Pelayo*, but none of them reached the level of *Los amantes*. He also wrote some philosophical plays, among which *Doña Mencía* (1838) is the most striking. The style of these is that of the German school rather than of the Calderonian. Another type of drama turned on the *motif* of magic. Thus, *La redoma encantado* and *Los polvos de la madre Celestina*, both of which contain an interest of historical allusion. Some Moratinian comedies and adaptations of the 17th century drama complete the tale of his full-length plays, but he also wrote *zarzuelas*. And his non-dramatic works include fables, lyrics on various subjects, prose tales, and literary essays.

The romantic drama attained its zenith in the work of JOSÉ ZORILLA Y MORAL (1817-93). This writer was educated for the Bar, but went over to literature and became one of the leaders of the literary circles of Madrid. His great output of lyrical and narrative verse is too facile in manner to be immortal, but it is redeemed from verbosity by the author's imagination. His plays have all the virtues of his poems, while they do not suffer from their defects; and Zorilla will always be remembered as the best representative of the romantic stage. An unfortunate marriage put an end to his dramatic career in 1849 and

drove him abroad. He returned to Spain in 1866, but though he was greeted with enthusiasm and afterwards admitted to the Academy, the quality of his work never reached its former standard. He had, in truth, outlived his age and had the misfortune of seeing himself placed honourably on the shelf. His dramatic success began in 1840 with the first part of *El zapatero y el rey* and was increased by the appearance of the second part in 1841. The latter is a version of the sad story of Inés de Castro. *El puñal del godo*, which was staged in 1842, was a revival of the legend of don Rodrigo and became a landmark in the history of the Spanish drama. *Don Juan Tenorio*, based on Tirso's play, followed in 1844, and at once found itself one of the writer's most popular dramas. His last piece of any value was *Traidor, inconfuso y mártir*, which was staged in 1849. Besides these, there were a number of lesser romantic dramas, some comedies, and tragedies.

Zorilla took his themes largely from other writers, especially those of the 17th century. His lack of originality is atoned for by a freshness of treatment and an imagination that laughs at history. He did not understand the Middle Ages, but at any rate he created a romantic society set in a background of medieval castles and Gothic architecture. In a sense he resembles Scott, but his work is probably destined to greater durability than that of the English author.

The last dramatist of the period was MANUEL TOMAYO Y BAUS (1829-98), who, though he survived till near the end of the century, had achieved his literary career by 1868. Sprung from a histrionic family, he was a brilliant playwright and won great popularity in his time. Beginning with romantic dramas, he scored a success with *El cinco de agosto* (1849) and with the historical *La ricahembra* (1854). At this time he was influenced by Schiller, some of whose works he imitated. His romantic plays culminated, however, in *Un drama nuevo* (1867), in which Yorick is the hero and Shakspeare an important character. But perhaps

the greatest importance of Tomayo y Baus is the perfection to which he brought the *alta comedia*, a bridge between the Moratinian comedies of Bretón de los Herreros and the realist plays of the aftermath. Unfortunately, some of his comedies are spoilt by their moralising on social themes. *Lo positivo* (1862) escapes this and has remained deservedly popular on the Spanish stage.

These leading dramatists are set off by not a few background figures, among whom may be mentioned Patricio de la Escosura, Gregorio Romero Larrañaga, Pedro Calvo Asensio, and Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, the Cuban poetess. But the romantic period did not produce giants of the stage. Its works suffer from ill-constructed plots, lop-sided plays, mawkish characters like the title hero in *El trovador*, insistence on mystery either in the origin (*El trovador*) or past (*Los amantes de Teruel*) of a principal character, proneness to 'tear a passion to tatters,' as in *Don Álvaro*, and a looseness combined with floridity in the verse. The great achievement of the writers was the casting off of the bonds imposed by the 18th century.

If the struggles of romanticism were fought out in the dramatic field, the chief success of the movement was won in the novel. This form of literature, which had been invented by Spaniards and was specially suited to their genius, had reached a low ebb by 1808. It was then to be revived by foreign inspiration. We have seen that the romantic movement in Spain was encouraged by translations of Chateaubriand, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, and Manzoni. These were followed by versions of the works of Madame de Staël and Goethe and at length by translations, usually through the French, of the novels of Sir Walter Scott, Fenimore Cooper, and Bulwer Lytton. The period of direct dependence on foreign literature lasted till 1830, when a number of Spanish writers began to produce works of their own.

For some time the imitation of foreign models was close. It was begun in 1830 by a slavish copy of *Ivanhoe* by Ramón

López Soler, a friend of the Duque de Rivas, in a novel called *Los bandos de Castilla, o el caballero del Cisne*. In the next year Telesforo de Trueba y Cossío also imitated Scott's style in *Gómez Arias o los moriscos de las Alpujarras*. Similar works were *La conquista de Valencia por el Cid* (1831) by Estanislao de Kotska Bayo, *El conde de Candespina* (1832) by Escosura. Larra's *El doncel de don Enrique el Doliente* and Martínez de la Rosa's *Doña Isabel de Solís* (1837) have already been mentioned. The most striking novel of this type was produced by ENRIQUE GIL Y CARRASCO (1815-46), a diplomat who dabbled in poetry and who has left a couple of travel-books. His *Señor de Bemibre* (1844) not only reproduced the manner of Scott with its glamour of the Middle Ages, long descriptions of Gothic architecture and heraldic costume, and a medieval subject, but even follows the plot of the *Bride of Lammermoor* in close detail. We notice that in Scott's novel the hero is the master of Ravenswood, while Enrique Gil's is *el señor de Bemibre*. The Spanish author falls into the same pitfalls as his original, but nevertheless his book has many virtues and may still be read with pleasure. Its subject is the fall of the Order of the Temple in Spain.

By 1845 the first vigour of romanticism had subsided, and there was a lull in the output of novels; but from about 1850 the flow began once more. The writers had now become more independent, though they still showed the influence of foreign literature and may be placed more or less accurately in classes accordingly. The first were the followers of Scott, among whom we may distinguish the statesman Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, Benito Vicetto Pérez, Victor Balaguer, and Francisco Navarro Villoslada. Cánovas was responsible for a somewhat heavy *Campaña de Huesca*, whose plot is based on the legend of don Ramiro el Monje. Pérez's work is better and is largely historical. His masterpiece is *Los hidalgos de Monforte*, published in 1857. Both Balaguer and Villoslada foreshadow the regional movement of later days by using local legends and

history for their plots, the former dealing with Cataluña, the latter with the Basque country.

The second class were followers of Alexandre Dumas and wrote novels in which the complications of the plot were important. The principal figure is MANUEL FERNÁNDEZ Y GONZÁLEZ (1821-88), a Sevillian noted for his bohemian manners. He was no mean poet, though the novel was his real field. His output was immense, and consisted of some 300 works. In such circumstances the majority were almost certain to show signs of carelessness and to be disjointed in plot and slipshod in style, but not a few are of sustained interest. The author did not have the power of gripping his readers, as had the writer of *Les Trois Mousquetaires*, yet he won great popularity among his contemporaries. Time has already withered his short-lived laurels. Perhaps the best of his historical novels were *El condestable don Álvaro de Luna* (1851), *Los siete infantes de Lara* (1853)—both on well-worn themes—and *El pastelero de Madrigal* (1862). To the school of Dumas also belongs ENRIQUE PÉREZ ESCRICH (1829-97), whose works show a distinct ethical, if not religious tendency. Names like *El cura de aldea* (1861) and *El mártir de Gólgota* (1863) indicate their subjects. Like all jam which has been discovered to conceal medicine, his novels are suspect.

The third class was a new development, the novel of manners. It was not historical, nor was it clearly based on foreign sources. It is represented in this period by one great writer, but there were several lesser lights, and the type was destined to be the main line of progress in the succeeding periods. Its founder was Cecilia Böhl de Faber, who is better known by her pen-name of FERNÁN CABELLERO (1796-1877). She was the daughter of the scholar who had been described as upholding romantic ideas against the attacks of J. J. Mora, but her mother was Spanish. Educated in Germany, but married to a Spanish army officer, she spoke and wrote German and Castilian with equal facility. Her first work, *Sola, oder Wahrheit und*

Schein, was in the former language. In 1849 she published her masterpiece, *La gaviota*, which appropriately enough tells the story of a young German living in Spain. The air is pessimistic and the end of the plot seems unnecessarily tragic, but the dialogue is unaffected and interesting, while the descriptions are clear and full of imagination. The characters are not psychological studies: the writer was chiefly concerned with describing the customs of Andalucía, which she knew so well. Other novels in the same style followed, though none were so successful. *La familia de Alvarada* appeared in 1856 and *Clemencia*, which contains autobiographical passages, in 1862. In all probability Fernán Caballero is the only novelist of the period who is likely to be remembered for long. Her influence began to be felt at once. *Los des heredados* (1865) by Fernández y González is, however, the only novel in this period that deserves mention, and which shows her influence.

A good deal of non-fictional prose appeared in these years. Much of it is purely literary, and nearly all of it bears marks of the individualism of the age. For convenience of treatment it may be classed roughly under four heads: descriptions, whether satirical or otherwise, of contemporary manners; political and literary essays and criticism; philosophy; and scholarship. The best works of the first class are from the pen of RAMÓN DE MESONERO ROMANOS (1803-82) and consist of articles contributed to journals and grouped into three series: *El panorama de Madrid* (1832-35), *Escenas matritenses* (1836-42), and *Tipos y caracteres* (1843-62). The best essays occur in the second series, but most of them display a gentle satire and delicious humour which charm the reader. The subjects are various, ranging from a description of night scenes in Madrid to a defence of the mantilla and a criticism of the Frenchified young Spaniard who has been educated in Paris.

After a trip to Belgium, Mesonero Romanos wrote a

travel-book which he called *El curioso parlante*. It is rather more than a mere record of impressions, for the author's comments are often philosophical and his remarks by the way are of wide interest. Very different in kind was *Escenas andaluzas* (1847), a charming description of the southern province by SERAFÍN ESTÉBANEZ CALDERÓN (1799-1857). This scholar, who used the pen-name of El Solitario in the work just mentioned, also wrote some novels in the manner of Fernán Caballero. For want of a better place, the short stories of JOSÉ SOMOZA Y MUÑOZ (1781-1852) may be dealt with here. Published in 1842 in *Obras en prosa y verso*, they are a description of the early romantic period as seen by a survivor from the 18th century.

Political and historical writings came in great number from men like Itúriz, Mendizábal, Pi y Margall, and others who played a leading part in the events of the time. The most enduring, however, are those of BARTOLOMÉ JOSÉ GALLARDO Y BLANCO (1776-1852). Scholar and philosopher, he wrote mostly pamphlets on contemporary politics, e.g. *Una apología de los palos dados al excelentísimo señor don Lorenzo Calvo de Rosas*, and *Las letras, letras de cambio o los mercachifles literarios*, both of which are personal attacks. Later, he took to literary criticism, writing articles in *El Crítico* on such subjects as the authorship of *La tía fingida* and the quality of Böhl de Faber's *Teatro español anterior a Lope de Vega*. FERMÍN CABALLERO (1800-76) is noteworthy for his *Memoria sobre el fomento de la población rural* (1862) and other works on geographical and historical subjects.

Philosophy is chiefly represented by JAIME BALMES (1810-48), a Catalan priest. His *Protestantismo comparado con el Catolicismo en sus relaciones con la civilización europea* (1844) is perhaps the greatest prose work of the age. It was followed in 1845 by *El criterio*, a treatise on logic, and in 1846 by *Filosofía fundamental*. JUAN DONOSO CORTÉS, marqués de Valdegames (1809-52), a

staunch conservative in politics and an eloquent speaker, was the author of an *Ensayo sobre el catolicismo, el liberalismo y el socialismo* (1851), a rhetorical re-statement of old ideas couched in a bombastic style.

The interest in the Middle Ages which was one of the characteristics of the romantic period turned the eyes of scholars and philologists towards the early literature and language of the country. The first to make a systematic study of these subjects on modern lines was PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS Y ARCE (1809-97), whose pronouncements on certain matters are still regarded as authoritative. More important was MANUAL MILÁ Y FONTANALS (1818-44), who, while holding the chair of Spanish literature in the University of Barcelona, devoted himself to the study of Provençal and the influence of that language and its literature on Spain. His two chief works : *De los trovadores en España* (1861) and *De la poesía heroicopopular castellana* (1874) may still be read with profit. Milá's chief claim to fame, however, is that he was the teacher of Menéndez y Pelayo, of whom we shall hear more later.

Since one of the features of romanticism was lyricism, we are not surprised at finding that most of the writers of the age devoted some attention to this form of verse. The Duque de Rivas, Larra, García Gutiérrez, Hartzenbusch, and other dramatists and novelists have left at least a few pieces of more or less poetic merit. García Gutiérrez published a volume of *Poesías* in 1842 and afterwards a second collection known as *Luz y tinieblas*, while Hartzenbusch wrote several pieces of little value, though *Al busto de mi esposa* is a charming exception. The latter writer also composed some fables which, together with those of Campoamor, are the best representatives of this form in modern Spanish literature.

Generally speaking, the poets of this age were characterised by a pessimism and melancholy which was due to the introspective habits of their time. Their work is highly subjective and is often tainted with morbidity. In form

there is a great diversity of metre, a revival of old measures, and a reaction against strict rules of versification. Three poets stand out from the rest. The first is JOSÉ DE ESPRONCEDA (1808–42), a pupil of Alberto Lista, who was forced into exile for his political opinions. He was a born revolutionary and spent most of his life in political intrigue. During his stay in Portugal he met a lady—the Teresa of his poems—with whom he afterwards eloped. A sudden illness cut short his life at the age of 34. Espronceda's literary career began with the juvenile epic fragment of *Pelayo*. His lyrics, most of which were published in 1840 under the title of *Poesías líricas*, were obviously written under the influence of Byron, and reflect various moods which are also seen in the works of the English poet. Some evince an intense erotic passion. *A Jarifa en una orgía* is almost excessive in this respect, but redeems itself by its brilliant verse. Other pieces express the spirit of adventure and have their source in *The Corsair*. Such are *La canción del Pirata*, a spirited song in varied metre, and *El canto del Cosaco*. Others again are in patriotic vein, like the ode *A la Patria*. But Espronceda's sentiments would be as strong on behalf of Greece as of his native land. A few pieces, like *El mendigo*, in which the new ideas of humanitarianism are expressed, are due to the influence of Rousseau and Victor Hugo. In the longer poems, which form parallels with *Don Juan* and *Childe Harold*, the morbidity, passion, and scepticism of Byron are more than ever visible. *El estudiante de Salamanca*, based on the old story of don Juan Tenorio, modified so as to be an expression of the poet's self, is typically romantic, with its medieval legend, its whirling flight, its supernatural elements, and its individualism. *El diablo mundo*, of which only a fragment exists, is inferior. It was intended to be a poem symbolical of human life. Espronceda's output is comparatively small, but his fame as a poet is probably destined to outlive that of most, if not all, of his contemporaries. But he was not so successful

in other forms of literature. His romantic novel, *Sancho Saldaña*, is weak and is already forgotten, while his dramas have never met with success.

The second outstanding poet was JOSÉ ZORILLA, the dramatist, who produced from 1827 onwards a number of volumes of lyrics. The poems written before 1850 are in a quiet style, but the collection known as *Flor de los recuerdos*, which was published in America in 1855, shows increasing passion. Zorilla was under the influence of Scott, but showed more independence than did Espronceda. Among his best pieces are *La tempestad*, *A la estatua de Cervantes*, *El segundo Edén*, and the sonnet *Toro y picador*.

The third poet was RAMÓN DE CAMPOAMOR Y CAMPOOSORIO (1817–1901), who, after contemplating entry first into holy orders and then into the medical profession, rejected both these callings for the pursuit of literature. Unlike many of his contemporaries, he led a quiet, restrained life, writing on various subjects from philosophy to drama. It is solely for his poetry that he is remembered, however, and these are of a very individual cast. After some juvenile lyrics collected under the name of *Ayes del alma* and some *Fábulas* of a remarkable depth of moralisation, he published in 1846 a volume of *Doloras*, or short poems, light in form, but philosophic in ideas. The *Dolora primera*, though not the most poetic, will give some idea of the type :—

La Opinión

¡ Pobre Carolina mía !
 ¡ Nunca la podré olvidar !—
 Ved lo que el mundo decía
 Viendo el fétetro pasar :

Un clérigo : ‘ Empiece el canto,’
El doctor : ‘ ¡ Cesó el sufrir !’
El padre : ‘ ¡ Me ahoga el llanto !’
La madre : ‘ ¡ Quiero morir !’
Un muchacho : ‘ ¡ Qué adornada !’
Un joven : ‘ ¡ Era muy bella !’
Una moza : ‘ ¡ Desgraciada !’

Una vieja : ' ¡ Feliz ella ! '
 ' ¡ Duerme en paz ! ' dicen los buenos.
 ' ¡ Adiós ! ' dicen los demás.
Un filósofo : ' ¡ Uno menos ! '
Un poeta : ' ¡ Un ángel más ! '

The best of them all is the charming *Quien supiera escribir* which finds a place in most anthologies.

In later life Campoamor published a volume of mellowed *doloras* under the title of *Humoradas* (1886), in which philosophy has softened into humour. These, together with a narrative poem on Columbus, complete the tale of poetry. Historically, Campoamor is a great, solitary figure, for he founded no school and exerted no apparent influence on succeeding generations of poets. The considerable literary changes which took place between 1865-75 left him unmoved, and he was as much at home in the days of Núñez de Arce as in those of Espronceda and Zorilla.

Among the lesser poets of the age was NICOMEDES PASTOR DÍAZ (1811-63), a political writer who published a volume of lyrics in 1840 in a tone of tender melancholy. The best pieces are *La mariposa negra* and *Al acueducto de Segovia*. JUAN MARTÍNEZ VILLERGA (1816-94) was the author of *Poesías jocosas y satíricas* (1842), aimed at various contemporary politicians. Others who also wrote lyrics were Gregorio Romero Larrañaga, Salvador Bermúdez de Castro, the inventor of the bermudina stanza, Gabriel García y Tassara, and Serafín Estébanez Calderón.

Narrative verse was not ignored. Already a number of attempts at epics and historical poems have been referred to, as for example Campoamor's *Colón*. But the age was too individualistic for the production of lofty, detached poems, and the typical form of narrative verse which attained success was the *romance*, or legend. The fashion of writing these compositions was set by the Duque de Rivas in his longer poems of *Florinda* and *El paso honroso* as well as in his *Leyendas* and *Romances históricos*. But Rivas was not a sufficiently good poet to make much even

of a theme like that of *El paso honroso*, and his pieces now remain unread. The type was taken up, however, by Zorilla, who modified and improved it, and turned out a large number of poems on local legends, e.g. *Cantos del trovador*, and on general medieval stories, like *El Cid*, *La leyenda de Al-Hamar*, etc. Unfortunately, he too often made imagination supply the place of historical accuracy and, like his prototype Scott, he versified with a facility that proved fatal to the permanence of his reputation.

So strong did the fashion of writing verse-novels become that even the old die-hard J. J. de Mora was induced to compose some *Leyendas españolas* (1840), but he had not the necessary poetry in him. Gregorio Romero Larrañaga (1815-72) was a definite follower of Zorilla, but he went to the opposite extreme of sacrificing imagination to historical accuracy. His best-known works are *Doña María Coronel* and *Amar con poca fortuna*. ANTONIO HURTADO (1825-78) struck out on new subjects. Besides legends, which appear in such works as the *Romancero de Hernán Cortés* (1847), he wrote some poems dealing with traditions in Madrid, among which the best is *Un lance de Quevedo*. MARIANO ROCA DE TAGORES, marqués de Molins (1812-80) produced a whole volume of *Romances* in which Zorilla's picturesque style and poetic inspiration have given way to a dull narrative of facts.

The Aftermath, 1868-98.—By 1845 the vigour of the romantic movement had begun to abate, and during the next twenty years, not only was the output of literature comparatively small, but the spirit and style of such works as did appear were sensibly modified. The explanation of these changes is that the nation was in a state of political flux. The fall of Isabel II in 1868 ushered in a series of disturbances: the assassination of Prim, the interlude of Amadeo, the second Carlist war, and the rise and fall of the republic. It was not until 1874 that the accession of Alfonso XII restored stability to the kingdom. The barren interval of 1868-74, when men's minds were too busy with

practical realities to turn to letters, formed a definite break between the romantic period proper and its aftermath, though it was to some extent bridged by a few old staggers like Campoamor and Zorilla and by some of the younger men, like Núñez de Arce, who had already made their first bow to the public. There is never any doubt as to which of the two periods these men belong. After 1868, Zorilla had already outlived his time, while Campoamor was the same poet in the *Humoradas* as in the *Doloras*. The younger men were still in the apprentice stage in 1868.

The political disturbances which ended in 1874 banished the glamour of romanticism by causing men to look closer at facts. Besides, the progress of science was being felt, and the power of *lo positivo* was being put before the charm of medieval titles and old-world ideals. This was no peculiar development in Spain, but a change which was coming over the whole of the Western civilisation. In France, Sainte-Beuve had begun his analysis of writers on a pseudo-scientific method. Taine had laid down the principle of art criticism which attributed the characteristics of the artists' work to the control of race, environment, and time, while Flaubert, though he called himself a romanticist, was laying the foundation of a literature which should square with the new philosophy. Writer and critic were supposed to treat their subjects as a naturalist proceeds with his plants and animals, classifying them and explaining their characteristics. Hence, followers of the new ideas were termed naturalists. The movement was in reality a reaction against romanticism, against subjectivity, and tended towards an objective description of life and things. Literature was in fact to be a photograph, not a painting embodying some of the artist's imagination. The great defect in this theory was that the writers became liable to prefer the abnormal, the ugly, and the indecent. Emile Zola, for example, seems to revel in the description of revolting scenes and confines his attention to the filthy and squalid.

Naturalism was not conspicuously successful in Spain. The spiritual is so closely mingled with the material in the Spanish temperament that the pure materialism involved in naturalism is impossible for the Spaniard. Moreover, the deep religious feeling of the Spanish nation averted to a large extent the materialism which had invaded the French when the Church entered politics in France. The independence of the Spanish character, which allows inspiration to be sought abroad, but prohibits slavish imitation, rejected a new movement which seemed to come from across the Pyrenees. Lastly, the political decentralisation of Spain, which survived from the medieval kingdoms, made individuals regard themselves as Aragonese or Castilians first and Spaniards afterwards. Hence, the stream of naturalist influence which entered the country was changed into regionalism.

The new movement, arising from causes that were at work throughout Western Europe, could not be without some influence, however. The very essence of lyric poetry is subjectivity, while in naturalism the non-ego is opposed to the ego; hence, poetry took a subordinate place in this period. On the other hand, the novel affords the best scope for objective study, and this form at once became predominant in literature.

The new period of the Spanish novel began with the publication of *Pepita Jiménez* in 1874, and this work is thus a landmark in literary history. Its author was JUAN VALERA Y ALCALÁ GALIANO (1827-1905), the son of the Marqués de la Paniega and a nephew of Antonio Alcalá Galiano. He served in the diplomatic corps until ill health compelled him to resign, whereupon he took to literature. During his period of service at Naples, he was a subordinate of the Duque de Rivas, under whose literary influence he came. In 1867 he helped to establish *La Revista de España*. His last years were troubled with blindness. His first efforts at literature—some poetic trifles—were unsuccessful, but his reputation was established with *Pepita Jiménez*.

This novel consists of a series of letters written by a young man who is being trained for the priesthood, but who unconsciously falls in love with Pepita and finally gives up the church for her sake. Comparatively short, it contains admirable character-sketches, though its language is somewhat stilted. The form lends itself to psychological analysis. Subsequently, Valera published a number of other novels, none of which quite comes up to the standard of *Pepita Jiménez*. Among the best are *Las ilusiones del doctor Faustino* (1875), *El comendador Mendoza* (1877), *Doña Luz* (1879), *Juanita la larga* (1896), and *Morsamor* (1899). He also wrote admirable short stories and published critical studies showing great acumen. The most important of these are his *Cartas americanas* (1889), in which he discovered the Nicaraguan poet Rubén Darío. Valera stands by himself as a novelist. While he shows a tendency towards naturalism, he is yet an idealist, and his characters are clearly the product of his imagination rather than of his observation.

The year 1874 saw the publication of another novel of the first order, *El sombrero de tres picos*, or, as it was called in the English dramatic version, "The Three-cornered Hat." Its author, PEDRO ANTONIO DE ALARCÓN Y ARIZA (1833-91) came of a good, but poor, family. Beginning life as a journalist, he soon volunteered for military service in Africa and gained distinction. In later life he became a deputy in the Cortes, a Councillor of State, and an academician. At the age of twenty-two he had written a juvenile novel named *El final de Norma*, but his military service led him to produce a *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África* (1860). This was followed in 1861 by *De Madrid a Nápoles* and 1873 by *La Alpujarra*, two travel-books. His success with *El sombrero de tres picos* was increased by the publication of *El niño de la bola* in 1880. Other novels by him were *El escándalo* (1875), *El capitán Veneno* (1881), and *La pródiga* (1882). His short stories are even better than his long novels. Alarcón was the

literary descendant of Fernán Caballero, and his works show as much naturalism as ever gained a place in Spain. Although he is not as well known abroad as Valera is, yet in his own country he is held in high esteem as a novelist.

The naturalist style was taken up by LUIS COLOMA (1851-1914), a native of Jerez de la Frontera. Educated in Seville, he became a Jesuit priest in 1873. His friendship with Fernán Caballero resulted in his imitation of her style in a series of short stories and later on in a charming biographical work, *Recuerdos de Fernán Caballero*. Coloma is not among the first rank of Spanish novelists of the period. His composition is careless and he had the irritating habit of introducing French and English phrases into his sentences. Moreover, his moralising strain soon tires the reader. Yet his work is redeemed to some extent by its sharp satire and its skilful presentation of character. *Pequeñeces* (1891) is easily his masterpiece and caused a great deal of discussion when first published. Of his other novels, none need be mentioned except the somewhat belated *Boy*, which appeared in 1910. Another secondary novelist of the naturalist school was JOSÉ MARÍA MATHEU, whose best works are *Jaque a la reina* (1889), and *Marrodán primero* (1897).

Meanwhile, the Spanish novel had taken another turn at the hands of JOSÉ MARÍA DE PEREDA Y SÁNCHEZ DE PORRUA (1833-1905). The son of a family of gentry at Polanco, this writer was intended for the army, but gave up this career for journalism in the local papers. During the reign of Amadeo he was a deputy in the Cortes, and later he became an academician. He was early struck with the novels of Fernán Caballero and in 1864 published his *Escenas montańesas*, in which he imitated her style. Pereda was a born fighter, and he made an assault on pedants and dandies in a series of short stories called *Tipos trashumantes*, and on society in Madrid in another called *La Montálvez*. In 1877 we find him defending marriage against Balzac in *El bucy suelto*, and in 1879 answering the

Gloria and *Doña Perfecta* of Pérez Galdós with *De tal palo tal astilla*. A man of such character was not likely to become a slave to foreign literary fashion, and regionalism was his reaction to naturalism. He had given a foretaste of this tendency in *Bocetos al temple*, a couple of short stories published together in 1876, but from 1882, when he wrote *El sabor de la tierruca*, he definitely set himself to paint the character-types and scenery of his native district. This book was a masterpiece, but it is in no way superior to *Sotileza*, a story of the love of a fisher-girl, which appeared in 1884. *Peñas arriba* (1893) showed that the author was not yet exhausted. Other novels not mentioned above are *La puchera*, *Don Gonzalo González de la Gonzalera* (1878), *Pedro Sánchez* (1891), and *Pachín González* (1896). Pereda's style is racy, pure, and vigorous. His descriptions of his native scenery are remarkably vivid and some of them have become classical instances of word-painting. His plots are slight, serving only as pegs on which to hang his pictures of scenery and provincial characters. In his theme novels, he shows himself tolerant, yet he cannot help making attacks on shams. He is, however, less at home in sketching duchesses in Madrid than in portraying the homely folk of his own mountains.

Pereda's regionalism was taken up by two great writers. EMILIA DE PARDO BAZÁN (1852-1921) was the daughter of the Conde de Pardo Bazán, a Galician nobleman. In 1868 she married don José Quiroga. Of a progressive mind, she was an active feminist and spent her life in furthering that cause. In 1879 she published her first novel, *Pascual López*, and this was followed by *Un viage de novios* (1881), *Los pazos de Ulloa* (1886), and *La madre Naturaleza* (1887), her masterpiece. These novels were all thematic and showed naturalistic tendencies. Their tendency to preach makes them tedious, but their style is a model of Spanish prose. When doña Emilia could escape from her theme, she painted life in her native Galicia. Three regional novels are the result of this mood: *Morriña*, *Un*

distripador de antaño, and *Bucólica*. They do not show the rapturous enthusiasm of Pereda for his district, but they mark out their author as a writer of the first class. Pardo Bazán also wrote short stories (which are rather spoilt by sermonising), sound literary criticism, bad dramas, and some verse.

The other writer was ARMANDO PALACIO VALDÉS (b. 1858), who is perhaps the greatest Spanish novelist of the century. This is perhaps because he had no axe to grind and so did not weary the reader with pet themes. An Asturian, he was educated first in Oviedo and then in Madrid. Taking to journalism, he became editor of the *Revista Europea*. In 1905 he was elected to the vacancy in the Academy caused by Pereda's death. His novels are far too many to be listed. His first, *El señorito Octavio* (1881), is of little account, but *Marta y María* (1883) is of the first order. Palacio Valdés excelled at drawing female characters, and the name-heroines of this book stand out as fine creations. Even better is Gloria in *La hermana San Sulpicio* (1889), the author's masterpiece. This novel, which has won great popularity abroad, is typical of all that is best in Palacio Valdés. The analysis of the Galician character of the hero and its contrast with the bright, sunny, and passionate southerners, the *beata*, the frequenters of the *tertulia* of *las de Anguita* are all the work of a master's hand. Strong sentiment is relieved by a sense of humour. The episodes, such as the evenings at the *reja* and the picnic on the Guadalquivir, impress themselves on one's memory in a way that only the very best things can. In *José* (1885) the author is purely regional, giving a story of fisherfolk on the north coast of Spain. If the reader is dragged at times through the mud of sordid life, at others he is treated to fine descriptions like that of the storm in which José is nearly drowned. The book lends itself to contrast with Pereda's *Sotileza*. Beside these three, the other novels of Palacio Valdés are inferior, though *El cuarto poder* (1888), *La espuma* (1891), *La fe* (1892), and

especially *La alegría del capitán Ribot* (1899) are easily within the first class. The author's purity of style and easy diction place him among the best masters of Spanish prose.

Among the secondary writers, only JACINTO OCTAVIO PICÓN (1858-1924) need be mentioned. Educated first in France and later in Madrid, he acquired an anticlerical spirit which showed itself in two novels, *Lázaro* (1882) and *El enemigo* (1887). Other works are distinctly erotic, as for instance *La hijastra del amor*, in which the story of a vamp is sympathetically told, and *La honrada* (1890). Picón undoubtedly owed much to Zola.

We now come to the last novelist whom it is proposed to mention and who has been kept for the last, not because of inferiority, but because of the influence which he exerted on the writers of the next period. For all this, BENITO PÉREZ GALDÓS (1843-1920) was born out of Spain, at Las Palmas in the Canary Islands. Educated in Madrid, he became a journalist like so many other Spanish writers of his day. His literary reputation afterwards won him a place in the Academy. His first novel, *La Fontana de Oro* (1870), named after a political club, showed no great promise, but in 1873 he embarked upon the first of his five series of *Episodios nacionales*, which relate after the manner of Erckmann-Chatrian the history of Spain during the last century. Each series is meant to contain ten novels, but the last is unfinished with six. The first series begins with the battle of Trafalgar and ends with the War of Independence in 1814. The second deals with the Carlist wars, while the three later ones depict contemporary history from Zumalacárregui to Cánovas. They are far inferior to the first two. The best individual novel is *Trafalgar*, in which the great battle is described. The writer is filled with the spirit of modern progress and shows a broadminded patriotism which enables him to pay a noble tribute to Nelson. The characters are lightly sketched, though the rough *bos'un* Marcial and '*el men-*

tiroso de Trafalgar ' provide comic relief to a good deal of tragedy.

Pérez Galdós also wrote novels on the social problems of contemporary life, in which his intellectual honesty and vigorous optimism are only equalled by the breadth and depth of his conception of life. His character-sketching is better here than in the *Episodios nacionales*. The first of these contemporary novels was *Doña Perfecta* (1876), which, as we have seen, called forth a protest from Pereda. *La familia de León Roch* followed in 1879 and *Lo prohibido* in 1884. *Angel Guerra*, which is usually regarded as his masterpiece, appeared in 1892. These novels and the novelesque dramas which will be mentioned in due course point definitely to the developments of the subsequent period, and indeed Pérez Galdós takes no unimportant place among the men who wrought the revolution of 1898.

Criticism, Scholarship, History, Law.—Literary criticism and scholarship, which had been neglected during the early Romantic period, now began to appear. A great deal of the output was the work of novelists like Valera and Pardo Bazán. The former's *Cartas americanas* (1889), written when the ever suave author had mellowed with age, are prone to find swans in many geese, but they drew attention to Darío's poetry and hence were responsible for the influence which the Nicaraguan was able to exert later on Spanish literature. Most of the criticism dealt merely with contemporary matter and much of it was controversial in form. A few writers, such as FEDERICO BALART (1881–1905) and LEOPOLDO ALAS Y UREÑA (1852–1901), are known mostly for their critical work, though they all tried their hands at other things. Balart, who published two volumes of lyrics, *Dolores* (1889) and *Horizontes* (1897), issued his criticisms in various periodicals, while Alas, who wrote under the pen-name of Clarín, not only contributed articles to newspapers, but also published some formal essays mostly of a polemic nature.

The spirit of modern scholarship which had been fostered

by Milá y Fontanals now reached its full power in MARCELINO MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO (1856-1912). This scholar, who must rank among the first half-dozen in the world, was born in Santander and proved extremely precocious. He studied philosophy and literature under Milá y Fontanals at Barcelona and from him learnt the right lines on which to work. At the age of 22 he became professor of Spanish literature in the University of Madrid, leaving this post in 1898 to become Director of the Biblioteca Nacional. A man of immensely wide reading, he was familiar with the literatures not only of his own country, but also of ancient Greece and Rome and of the leading tongues of modern Europe. His literary work proved his talents to be most versatile. From time to time he tried his hand at verse, either original, like *A mis amigos de Santander*, or translations of Horace and other ancient poets. But his real forte lay in scholarship. With nothing to base his work upon, he drew up bibliographies which form the basis for all literary research in modern Spain. His critical works deal either with single writers like Boscán or with whole schools, like the circle of Luís de León at Salamanca.

The amount of his output was enormous, and only a few of the very best can be mentioned : *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles* (1880-82), *Historia de la poesía castellana en la Edad Media* (1890-1908), which consists of prefaces to a poetic anthology, *Orígenes de la novela* (1910), and *Historia de la poesía hispanoamericana* (1898-95). His writings were apt to lack perspective : it seemed as if his subjects gradually ran away with him. But he had an unerring eye, and his judgments will long stand as the accepted verdict on the matters with which he dealt. For him literature was part of the philosophy of life, and in this spirit he contributed works on æsthetics. Not least among his claims to importance is the influence he had on a number of pupils who were to become prominent in the next generation.

The new ideas of scholarship spread to others. EDUARDO DE SAAVEDRA (1829-1912) led the way in the study of *aljamiada* literature, and JOAQUÍN COSTA (1846-1911) published among other similar works a *Mitología y literatura celto-hispanas* (1881). Costa brings us on to other learned subjects, for he was also a writer on sociology, law, etc. Gumersindo de Azcárate, Manuel Colmeiro, and Francisco de Cárdenas wrote legal works, too, but a short history of literature must ignore technical matters of this kind. History falls more within our scope. Spain has not lacked historians in modern times, but they seem to prefer monographs on recent persons or episodes to exhaustive treatises. EMILIO CASTELAR Y RIPOLL (1832-99) is peculiar for the lyrical style which he uses both in the lighter *Recuerdos de Italia* (1872) and in the more formal *Historia del movimiento republicano en Europa* (1873-74). ANTONIO CÁNOVAS DEL CASTILLO (1828-97), the statesman, whose novels belong to the romantic period, wrote solid but cold *Estudios sobre Felipe IV* (1888). Two other writers are Manuel Danvila y Collado, whose chief work is *La historia del reino de Carlos II* (1891-94), and José de Arteche, whose *Guerra de la Independencia* (1902) fills thirteen volumes.

The Drama.—The second phrase of the Romantic drama came to an end with Tomayo y Baus, though a survival remained in a kind of backwater in the work of the Catalan VÍCTOR BALAGUER (1829-91). His plays, which are all tragedies, have been translated into Castilian by various poets, among others Núñez de Arce. The best, of which *La muerte de Aníbal* may be taken as a good example, hark back in style to the classical type, but others, like *La tragedia de Livia*, are purely romantic.

The year 1874 was signalised by the appearance of a new dramatic movement and one which was destined to attain to great brilliance in the next period. The creator of this new spirit was JOSÉ ECHEGARAY Y EIZAGUIRRE (1832-1916), a Basque born in Madrid. An engineer by profession and a mathematician at heart, he was first a professor at

Madrid University and after 1868 head of the state department of Public Works. He wrote scientific and economic treatises, and it was to his activity as a political economist that his country owes the existence of the Banco de España, which was established in 1874. Literature knows him, however, as a dramatist. He cared little for the delineation of character, but preferred treating problems, especially those involving a choice between two moral paths. He retains the romantic features of pessimism and of scenic effect, delighting in duels and suicides and calling in the aid of the psychological influence of the elements. *El libro talonario* (1874), his first dramatic work, will doubtless become a landmark in the history of Spanish literature, but his best plays are *O locura o santidad*, which deals in a characteristic way with the old theme of the substitution of children, and his masterpiece *El gran Galeoto* (1881), whose plot is based on the ill effect of gossip and the influence of tittle-tattle in bringing on troubles between husband and wife. Echegaray's mathematical brain led him to form ingeniously complicated plots. His new style of play was immediately copied by Eugenio Sellés (b. 1844), whose best work, *El nudo gordiano*, deals with the divorce question, and Leopoldo Cano y Masas (b. 1844), who treated the effects of bad example in *Los laureles de un poeta*. The further developments of Echegaray's new drama were to come later.

Meanwhile, Benito Pérez Galdós, whose work as a novelist has been described above, introduced yet another kind of drama in a number of novelesque plays which fail as practical drama, but yet make good reading. The representation of social types is good, and the plays form a mirror of contemporary life. *La loca de la casa* (1893) is undoubtedly the best and will always hold its place as a representative of 19th century Spanish drama, but *Bárbara*, *El Abuelo*, and *Realidad* are not far inferior. Similar in type is the *Juan José* (1895) of JOAQUÍN DICENTA Y BENEDICTO (1868-1917), whose plays deal with social

problems. With him we must leave full-length drama abruptly, since the continuation belongs to the next period.

Towards the close of the century a distinct sign of the times was noticeable in the growing popularity of one-hour pieces, termed collectively the *género chico*. These playlets were a development of the *zarzuelas* and *sainetes* of earlier times, but the *revistas* and *bufos* came from Paris. Many of them were brilliant gems, but by their very nature they were ephemeral. Some of the most successful writers were Felipe Pérez y González (1846-1910), whose best piece is a *revista* entitled *La gran vía*; Ricardo de la Vega, whose *Verbená de la paloma* was played in 1894; and José López Silva.

Poetry.—In this period for the second time in the history of Spanish literature poetry takes a secondary place. The veteran Campoamor lived on and produced his *Humoradas*, but his bolt was shot. His place was taken by GASPAR NÚÑEZ DE ARCE (1834-1908), who, like most literary men of the day, took part in politics. Elected as a deputy to the Cortes, he afterwards became Minister for Foreign Affairs. He produced some dramas, of which the best is *El Haz de leña* (1872), dealing with the story of the death of Prince Carlos, the son of Philip II. But the lyric was his proper field, and the volume entitled *Gritos del combate*, which appeared in 1875, at once established his reputation. He is a subjective poet and deals in a philosophic way with the social problems of modern times. His carefully polished verse is a very model of correctness, no form of metre presenting any difficulty to him. The bulk of his work consists of narrative verse, but his best things are to be found in *Gritos del combate*, which stands as the chief poetic product of the age. He has been called the poet of doubt because of the ideas which run through all his poems, and which are summed up in his lyric called *La duda*. His influence is noticeable in the work of Emilio Ferrari (1850-1907), the author of *Pedro Abelardo*; of

Joaquín María Bartrina, whose *Algo* was published in 1876; of Balart already mentioned as the writer of *Dolores* and *Horizontes*, and of Manuel del Palacio, whose *Melodías íntimas* is a collection of sonnets.

While the main flow of Castilian poetry moved onward in the work of these writers, a new stream appeared which was destined to oust the old from its bed. This was regionalism. Galicia, Valencia, and Cataluña all contributed. It was not, however, the regionalism of the novel, not, that is, a desire to depict native scenes and types of character. Its provincial traits were limited to the use of dialectal terms and expression and to a different point of view from the Castilian. The poets drew their inspiration from GUSTAVO ADOLFO BÉCQUER (1836-70), whose *Rimas* were not published until 1871. In these lyrics he showed the influence of Heine and his school in Germany. His work is marked by intense subjectivity, by a melancholy due no doubt to his delicacy of health, and by the placing of subject-matter above form. Rime and all kinds of recognised poetic ornament are rigorously eschewed. In his day Bécquer passed almost unnoticed, but his posthumous influence has been so great that he is likely to have a permanent place in Spanish literary history, a place similar to that of Juan Boscán, if not to that of Garcilaso de la Vega.

If Bécquer was not recognised in Madrid, he was imitated in the provinces and in Spanish-America. Vicente Wenceslao Querol (1836-89), a Valencian, produced a volume of lyrics which he also called *Rimas*. Another Valencian, Teodoro Llorente (1826-1911), to be noticed later for his translations, confined his original poems to the Catalan dialect, issuing a *Llibret de versos* in 1884 and a *Nou llibret de versos* in 1902. ROSALÍA DE CASTRO (1837-85), a Galician poetess, who showed greater regionalism than the other Bécquerians, wrote some *Cantares gallegos*; but her chief work is to be found in the volume called *En las orillas del Sar* (1884). Others of the school were Juan

Alcover and Miguel Costa y Llobera, both Mallorcans. All these poets shared the fate of their master in lacking recognition, but they gave rise to the great movement which took place after 1889.

Narrative poetry was attempted by most of the poets of this period, though no one was ambitious enough to produce an epic. The Conde de Cheste made translations of *Os Lusíadas*, *Orlando Furioso*, *Jerusalem liberata*, and the *Divina Commedia*—an immense work for one man to do well; and Llorente wrote in Castilian some versions of various works of Byron, Hugo, and Goethe. The original poetry was for the most part worth little. Núñez de Arce's *La última lamentación de Lord Byron*, in which the author's own views of things are put into the mouth of the English poet, shows that the influence of Byron was not yet dead in Spain. Spanish legend was treated in *La calle de la Cabeza* by Manuel del Palacio and in *El suspiro del moro* by Pedro Antonio de Alarcón y Ariza. Apart from these, there is nothing worth mention here: poetry had become too subjective for the production of good narrative verse.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

The best work on the romantic period is Enrique Piñeyro's *El romanticismo en España*. For special information on the novel, consult *La historia de la novela en España desde el romanticismo a nuestros días* by A. González-Blanco (Madrid, 1909). The texts may be obtained in the usual series.

CHAPTER VII

SPANISH-AMERICAN LITERATURE

THE history of contemporary Spanish literature is incomplete without some reference to the works of American writers during the last half-century or so. This is not only because literature cannot recognise an arbitrary political separation of persons using the same mother tongue, but also on account of the fundamental influence of the writings of Spanish-Americans on those of the motherland and the practical union in recent times of Spanish literary ideals in the Old World and the New. Whether in future Spanish-American literature will form an episode in the history of the Castilian or will take the place of the main line of development to be preceded by an outline of the literature of Spain as a necessary introduction remains to be seen. But the close relation of the parent and daughter literatures renders combined treatment necessary. One needs no North American chapter for the full understanding of modern English literature ; but cultural growth in Spain's former colonies has been more dependent on the motherland, and, above all, the influence of the daughter nations on the parent—a fact absent from Anglo-American relations—makes the situation altogether different.

The empires of Mexico and Peru were not devoid of literature on the arrival of Cortés and Pizarro. True, it was largely oral, and none of it survives in the tongue of the Aztec or Inca people. Yet not a few critics have noticed special traits of tone and outlook in subsequent Spanish-American literature, especially Mexican works, which they have attributed to the spirit of the autochthonous race. However this may be, the native compositions were swept

away by the Castilian invasion, and the very tongue in which they were composed was replaced. Not a few native words entered the language of the conquerors, nevertheless, and a number of local terms and expressions exist in the Spanish which is spoken in the various parts of America. In Chile the tonality became slightly modified, and certain morphological developments, such as $ll > y > j$, have taken place in the Argentine and elsewhere. To what degree these linguistic modifications are due to native influence cannot be asserted until the matter has been studied more thoroughly than it has been so far. Certain it is that the divergences from the Castilian are not all to be attributed to aboriginal factors, for the *seseo* which has received universal recognition in America is familiar in certain parts of Spain. Its general use in the New World is often explained as due to the preponderance of Andalusians among the *conquistadores*. Whether this is true or not, it is only reasonable to expect in America a mixture of the dialects of the motherland.

The Spanish *conquistadores* carried the civilisation of Spain into the New World. The names Hispaniola (= Little Spain), Nueva España, Nueva Granada, etc., point to conscious intention in the transplantation of the culture of the motherland into her new dominions. So far as geographical and other circumstances permitted, the invaders tried to reproduce in the new lands the life to which they had been accustomed in the old country. The ideal of most of them was to make a fortune and go home to Spain to enjoy it; but while they were in America—and many never succeeded in returning—they aimed at securing the amenities and comforts which existed in Spain. Utilitarian and cultural institutions were not forgotten. The printing-press was established in Mexico in 1539–40, a bare twenty years after the arrival of Cortés, and the first book turned out was *La escalera de San Juan Climaco*. Forty-five years later (1584) a press was started in Peru. Mateo Alemán, who spent his last days in Mexico,

published there his *Ortografia castellana* in 1609, and this was the first important book to be printed in the New World. Before this, in 1553, the University of Mexico had been founded.

Naturally, writers on American subjects were for some time Spanish sojourners who wrote for their countrymen at home. Such works, which hardly came under the head of Spanish-American literature, include the accounts written by Columbus, Cortés, Bernal Díaz del Castillo, and other explorers and *conquistadores*, the more formal histories of Las Casas, de Solís and others, and a few more purely literary productions like Ercilla's *Araucana*. Mention has already been made of these in the appropriate places in the foregoing chapters.

Within a hundred years of Columbus's first voyage, however, writers born in America began to appear. The most noted of them were the so-called Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, the descendant of a noble Spanish family and of the last Inca Atahualpa; the Mexican Juan Ruiz de Alarcón; and the Cuban Sor Inés de la Cruz. The first, having derived from his mother a special knowledge of the Peruvian customs, has left in *La Florida del Inca* a valuable historical document, though perhaps not a literary work of the highest class. The second was a contemporary of Lope de Vega and almost rivalled him in fame. The third, hailed as an infant prodigy and known as 'la décima Musa,' was no mean producer of religious poems of the mystical type of Luís de León.

These writers lived and wrote in Spain and are thus properly dealt with under the head of Spanish literature. Anyone who had literary aspirations was forced to seek their fulfilment in Spain, for the reading public in America was simply not numerous enough to make profitable the publication of works whose reception was doubtful. Printers could only afford to deal with devotional books, for which there was a constant demand, and with occasional literary works which had already succeeded in Spain

and so were sure of a profitable reception in America. Moreover, the fame to be won in the narrow circles in the New World did not satisfy those who felt themselves worthy of a wider audience. For these reasons, the literary works of Spanish-American writers between the discovery of the continent until the breakaway of the new republics in the 19th century form part of the development of the literature of Spain. There were, however, other causes. The viceregal courts which formed the highest circles of local society consisted of officials and their wives from Spain. Spanish culture was therefore set up as a model to be followed, and all those who could afford the expense involved sent their children, at any rate their sons, to be educated in Spain. Hence, there could be no separate Spanish-American literature until political causes led to the breakaway of the colonies and to the severing of the main cultural bonds between parent and offspring.

THE 19TH CENTURY

The Colonial period of Spanish-American literature ends therefore with the constitution of the first Junta de Gobierno in Chile on September 18th, 1810. Other provinces quickly followed this lead. But the separation from Spain was not achieved by mere words. The royal troops were used to disperse political gatherings, and the long War of Liberation followed. Its cause was not unlike that of the American War of Independence. The Spanish regulars, trained under a system of tactics and manœuvres which proved unsuitable to the country, faced enthusiastic levies commanded by natural leaders whose pre-eminent qualities of generalship more than compensated for lack of military experience. Obligated to hold a vast area with inadequate numbers, the royalists were forced to split up into small bodies which were beaten in detail. The whole country was against them ; they were often far from their bases and they were compelled to operate over ground where communication was well nigh impossible. Added to this

was the incompetence of many of the leaders and the tendency of professional troops to underrate inexperienced colonial levies.

The war, like most others, brought its crop of martial songs like the following :—

Oíd, mortales, el grito sagrado :
 ¡ Libertad ! ¡ Libertad ! ¡ Libertad !
 ¡ Oíd el ruido de rotas cadenas !
 Ved en trono a la noble Igualdad.
 Se levanta a la faz de la tierra
 una nueva y gloriosa nación,
 coronado su sien de laureles
 y a sus plantas rendido un león.

This is a stanza of the song afterwards adopted as the Argentine national anthem. It was written by Vicente López y Planes and was sung, we are told by the historian Mitre, by San Martín's soldiers as they performed the last stretch of the way to the Uspallata Pass on the road to Chile. Of those who sang after victory was complete, the best known was JOSÉ JOAQUÍN DE OLMEDO (1780–1847), an Ecuatorian, whose masterpieces are a pæan of thanksgiving called *La victoria de Junín* and a *Canto a Bolívar*. The style of the poems is a curious mixture of those of Herrera and Quintana, and the method of the poet is so much that of Spanish tradition that the critic Amunátegui has said : *Puede decirse que Olmedo ha levantado en el canto a Junín un monumento a Bolívar en fragmentos antiguos y piedras cortadas, a imitación de las que se empleaban en las construcciones de Grecia y de Roma. Por eso la obra tiene un colorido de otro siglo : en ella solo los nombres de Bolívar, de Sucre, de Junín, de Ayacucho son modernos.*

After things had settled down, the Spanish tradition continued until a new generation with South American aspirations could be trained. The right trainer was found in ANDRÉS BELLO (1780–1865). Born in Venezuela, Bello showed a precocious genius and was sent to London as a representative of his country when the War of Liberation

broke out. The initial failure of the rising caused him to be stranded in England without funds, and he joined the Chilean legation. In 1829 he was offered a government post in Chile and spent the rest of his life in that country. Becoming the first rector of the University of Chile, he had an immense influence on the younger generation, reckoning among his pupils M. L. Amunátegui, D. Barros Arana, J. V. Lastarria, and others. His knowledge was wide and his literary work varied. Besides a large share in drafting and editing the new *Código civil de Chile* it included volumes on *Derecho internacional*, *Filosofía*, and *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, whose titles sufficiently indicate their subjects. His *Poesías* contain patriotic verses like the following :—

Dieciocho de setiembre, hermosa fiesta
de Chile, alegre día
que nos viste lanzar el grave yugo
de antigua tiranía,
cánticos te celebren de victoria,
que blanda el aurora lleve
desde la verde playa hasta las cumbres
coronadas de nieve.

Other poems were in the style of Quintana, his *Oda a la agricultura de la zona tórrida* being an imitation of the *Oda a la imprenta*. Not a great poet, his influence on literature was mainly cultural. He was widely read in the literature of Spain and was one of the first to point out the importance of the *Poema de mio Cid*. A *cervantista* of some repute, he attributed *La tía fingida* to Avellaneda. His grammatical work, on which his literary reputation mainly rests, was later edited and annotated by another South American, R. J. Cuervo.

Somewhat younger than Bello was the Cuban poet JOSÉ MARÍA HEREDIA (1803-39), whose promising career was unfortunately cut short at an early age. His best known piece is *Niágara*, a poem written in the style of Quintana and to be found in most anthologies of Spanish

verse. It shows real feeling. In other works Heredia gives evidence of slight Byronic influence. Most of his subjects, e.g. *Al sol*, *A la noche*, *A mi caballo*, are taken from nature. His conceptions are picturesque and imaginative, his verse is polished, and his tone expressive of a melancholy not infrequent in Spanish-American poets. Another follower of Quintana was the Colombian politician GREGORIO GATÍERREZ GONZÁLEZ (1826-72), whose chief poem is the *Memoria sobre el cultivo del maíz* (1866), '*obra maestra de poesía realista, pintoresca y robusta*' (F. Kelly). As the century wore on, developments followed those in Spain, and we find the Mexican Fernández Calderón imitating Bretón de los Herreros in a drama called *A ninguna de las tres*. Juan Clemente Zenea (1831-71), a Cuban, wrote *romances* in the Spanish tradition.

Other Spanish-American writers actually followed the old practice of the colonial period by emigrating to Spain in order to find a wider field for their talents. Among these was MANUEL EDUARDO DE GOROSTIZA (1789-1851), a Mexican by birth. He early removed to Spain, where he achieved great popularity by his comedies written after the style of Moratín. The best of these is *Indulgencia para todos* (1818) and *Las costumbres de antaño*. One of the old school, he opposed romanticism and caricatured it in *Contigo pan y cebolla*. Of far greater importance was VENTURA DE LA VEGA (1807-1865). Born in Buenos Aires, he went to Madrid at the age of eleven and spent the rest of his life in Spain. In Madrid he became one of the pupils of Alberto Lista and distinguished himself to such a degree that he was afterwards appointed tutor in literature to Isabel II. Like Gorostiza he was an opponent of romanticism and he survived as a neo-classical writer throughout the romantic period. Yet the lyrics which he composed on topical matters are not without traces of Byronic influence. His best poetic works are the *Canto de la esposa* and the *Imitación de los salmos*. His dramatic works are of more importance, however. Besides numerous translations and

adaptations of French plays, like *La segunda dama duende*, which is based on Scribe's *Le Domino Noir*, he wrote comedies after the style of Moratín. The best of these is *El Hombre de mundo* (1845), in which he has succeeded in creating life-like plots and characters. He tried his hand at historical drama, but here he failed. His success as a dramatist secured him the position of manager of the Teatro Español and gained him admission to the Academy in 1842.

Another reactionary was RAFAEL MARÍA BARALT (1810-60). Born at Maracaibo in Venezuela, he settled in Spain in 1843 ; but, although he is to all intents and purposes a Spanish writer, he has nevertheless had much influence on Spanish-American literature. He is primarily a historian and philologist. In his former capacity he wrote a *Historia de Venezuela*, a work of sound scholarship ; but he gained even greater fame by his *Diccionario de galicismos*, in which he mingled philological learning with acute literary criticism. He also tried his hand at poetry, writing lyrics in a cold and artificial style. The best of these are *A Cristóbal Colón* (1843), and *A una flor marchita*. His literary merit was recognised in Spain, and on the death of Donoso Cortés in 1853 he was admitted to the Academy. The *Discurso* which he pronounced on taking his place is a fine monograph on his predecessor.

ANTONIO ROS DE OLANO (1802-1887) was born in Caracas, and at the age of eleven left his native land and settled in Spain. He joined the Spanish Army and distinguished himself in Africa. In the end he was rewarded with the title of Marqués de Guad-el-Jelú. Unlike Ventura de la Vega, he accepted the romantic theory and under the influence of Espronceda wrote sonnets and other lyrics in the strain of the new school. His best work of this kind is *El lenguaje de las estaciones*. His part in the African campaign gives special value as a contemporary account to *Los desastres de la guerra*. His chief literary work, however, was a romantic novel, *El doctor Lañuela*, which was published in 1863. It is a tissue of extravagance.

Another romantic writer was GERTRUDIS GÓMEZ DE AVELLANEDA (1814-73), whom Juan Valera and Menéndez y Pelayo united in declaring to be the greatest poetess of modern times. Born at Puerto Príncipe in Cuba, she settled in Spain in 1836. Her *Poesías líricas*, which were published in 1841, clearly show the influence of Victor Hugo and Lamartine. She had a decided preference for long types of verse. Many of her lyrics are religious in subject, though these are not among her best. Her style may best be gauged by *La pesca en el mar*, *Amor y orgullo*, and *La venganza*. Her romanticism was chiefly evident in her novels: *Guatimotzin* (1845), *Sab* (1839), and *El aura blanca*, all of which are in a lyrical vein. In the drama of the romantic type she won much success. *Saul*, written in 1849, was at once popular: but *Baltasar*, published in 1858 and imitated from Byron's *Sardanapalus*, is her masterpiece in this line.

Another Spanish-American in name only was JOSÉ HERIBERTO GARCÍA DE QUEVEDO (1819-71). Born at Coro in Venezuela, he took up his abode in Spain in early life and devoted himself to literature. He came under the influence of Zorilla, with whom he collaborated in *Un cuento de amores* (1851) and several other poems. Among his original poems, which are all second class, are some *romances* modelled on those of the Duque de Rivas and dealing with the campaign of the Gran Capitán. He also tried his hand at the novel and the drama, but met with little success. His *Coriolano* is a romantic tragedy and is his best dramatic venture.

These writers were just an aftermath of the colonial period. The true Spanish-American literature which had sprung out of the War of Liberation was carried on by the efforts of the new republics to achieve stable Government. Philosophical discussions of forms of government, political manifestoes, journalistic criticisms of existing powers came forth in every new capital, teaching the new prose writers of America an exaggerated and over-impas-

sioned style which has reached its zenith at the present day. Many of the writers suffered exile, most wrote under the goad of political persecution ; but at any rate they learnt to use their language and inspired it with flaming vigour. Not all were forced to the screams of martyrdom, however. DOMINGO FAUSTINO SARMIENTO (1811-89), who was President of the Argentine for a time, was a real student of sociology, and has left the results of his studies in *Facundo o civilización y barbarie*, a work giving evidence of calm reflection, wide experience, and deep thought. Blanco Fombona, the Venezuelan critic, has written a monograph on this scholar and statesman.

FRANCISCO BILBAO (1823-65) was, on the other hand, an example of the opposition reformer. In 1844 he published his *Sociabilidad chilena* in *El Crepúsculo*, a periodical of the day. Conservative minds were alarmed. The Chilean Government tried him for blasphemy and sedition and condemned his work to be publicly burnt and its ashes to be scattered to the four winds of heaven. He was himself exiled. After staying first in Peru and then in Ecuador, where he carried on his self-appointed mission, writing the *Evangelio americano* and editing *La Voz del nuevo Mundo*, he finally settled in the Argentine, where he spent the rest of his somewhat stormy life. Not unlike him but of far greater literary talent was JUAN MONTALVO (1833-89). In the time of this reformer Ecuador was under the thumb of the unprogressive clerical party, at whose head was the President García Moreno. Montalvo took up the cudgels for liberty and progress and proved himself a brilliant journalist and controversialist. In Spanish-America his opposition could have but one result : he was first persecuted and finally exiled. This did not silence him, for he continued to fulminate against the tyrant from the safety of a foreign land. Among the best of his political writings was a novel directed against the President. Not all his writings are purely partisan, however : in *Siete Tratados* he showed himself a philosopher and thinker. Towards the

end of his life he published the *Capítulos que se le olvidaron a Cervantes* (1882), which has been mentioned above as the best of the many imitations of the great writer. He forms the subject of an essay by the Uruguayan scholar Rodó, who saw in him a representative of Latin-America as a whole, and suggested that his love of order and beauty was due to the early influence of Cotopaxi.

Exile had also befallen Montalvo's younger contemporary, JOSÉ MÁRMOL (1818-71). Born in Buenos Aires, he came into the troublous period of the dictatorship of Rosas and was duly banished in 1838. Taking up his residence in Montevideo, he proceeded to aim shaft after shaft of invective at the tyrant. At last, in 1850-51, he wrote a novel, *Amalia*, directed against Rosas and designed to rouse foreign sympathy as well as foment Argentine resistance. The thrust proved useless, for Rosas was overthrown in February, 1852, a short while before the book appeared. Mármol returned immediately to Buenos Aires, where he spent the rest of his life. His literary work includes two dramas, *El cruzado* and *El poeta*, both of which failed; some satirical quatrains which are not without poetic value; and *El peregrino*, a long, unfinished narrative poem. But it is on *Amalia* that his reputation rests. Written as a piece of propaganda and purposely full of exaggeration and invective, the novel is not a great book. Its plot is loosely constructed, and its style is academic, but it is living and forceful and it maintains its interest throughout. If it does not contain much philosophy or paint a broad picture of life, so long as men take an interest in history this book will find readers. True, some of the pages anticipate Zola and the realists in setting forth disgusting and horrible detail. The throat-cutting episode is repulsive, and the description of the dictator's buffoon is revolting. Yet there are atonements in the gentle surroundings of *Amalia* and the noble characters of Eduardo and Alberto. The dictator and his supporters are overdrawn and made to appear superhuman monsters. On the

whole, it is probably the greatest novel that Spanish-America has produced so far.

Amalia, moreover, represents the romantic novel in Spanish-America. Mármol also showed what school he favoured when he wrote *El peregrino*. But romantic poetry is best represented by *María*, a long narrative poem by the Colombian poet JORGE ISAACS (1837-95). This is not an interesting work, however. Its characters are pale shadows, and its action is monotonously smooth—a very different thing from the unpolished, but vigorous poetry that was to come later. The fact is that romanticism never properly bloomed in Spanish-America. During its hey-day in Europe, the poets of the American republics were otherwise engaged, and when it did arrive its force was already decaying in its countries of origin.

By the middle of the century the new republics had thrown off the influence of Spain sufficiently to develop an individualism of their own. Regionalism, which fended off naturalism from Spain, stepped in and took the place of romanticism before the latter was fully established. Spanish-Americans were now beginning to be proud of their native lands and to think them worth writing about. From Mexico in the north to Chile and the Argentine in the far south writers began to appear whose chief aim was to glorify the wonderful scenery of the land and the great deeds of its heroes. One of the earliest was OLEGARIO V. ANDRADE (1834-84), an Argentine journalist and poet, who is also the best epic poet of Spanish-America. His *Nido de cóndores*, which describes the scenery of the cordilleras, contains a fine passage on the crossing of the Andes by San Martín and his army. The patriotic spirit is also seen in *Prometeo* and even more in *Atlántida*. In the latter the growing feeling of the unity of the Latin race in America evinces itself strongly for the first time. The author takes an optimistic view of the future, as all Spanish-Americans are prone to do.

More regional still are the works of JOSÉ HERNÁNDEZ

(1834-86), the *gaucho* poet of the Argentine. The poems *El gaucho Martín Fierro* and *La vuelta de Martín Fierro* are racy pictures of life on the Pampa. Their verse is rude and unpolished, but forceful and vivid. One feels that the author not only knows, but is animated by the true *criollo* spirit. Here is no follower of Spanish models, but a poet working almost in the light of nature and fashioning a new literature for his country. JUAN ZORILLA DE SAN MARTÍN (b. 1857) was no less regional, though his verse clearly profited more by the literary tradition of Spain. Though an Uruguayan, he was, like Andrade, a poet of Spanish-America as a whole. His chief work is *Tabaré*, which, according to Juan Valera, "*parece inspirado por el medio ambiente, por la naturaleza magnífica de la América del Sur, y por sentimientos, pasiones y formas de pensar que no son sencillamente españoles, sino que a más de serlo, se combinan con el sentir, el discurrir y el imaginar del indio bravo, concibidos, no ya para mera observación externa, sino por atavismo del sentido íntimo, y controversión en su profundidad, donde quien sabe penetrar lo suficiente, ya descubre un ángel, aunque él esté empecatado, ya descubre a la alimaña montaraz, aunque él sea suave y culto.*"

EUSEBIO LILLO (1826-1900) was a lyric poet, and the author of the national anthem of Chile. His regionalism consists of the treatment of nature subjects, such as birds, streams, and the sea, of his native land of Chile. But he did not lose sight of the popular theme of liberty, dealing with it in a true Spanish-American fashion. Now and then he could also write of women and love. His tender polished verse is far different from the rough and unpolished, though vigorous, language of JOSÉ EUSEBIO CARO (1817-53), the Colombian general and politician. A member of one of the best families in Bogotá, Caro was a social and political leader in his day and had the good fortune to see his work carried on by his son. He is not a great poet, but his lyrics show real poetic feeling. One of his best is *Una lágrima de felicidad* which is addressed to his wife.

Regionalism is still more evident in prose fiction. In a sense *Amalia* had been regional in that it described contemporary life in the Argentine. This, however, was an accidental feature. In the work of ALBERTO BLEST GANA (b. 1831) the whole aim was to paint a picture of Chilean life. In *Martín Rivas* the plot is of less importance than the panorama. Moreover, where *Amalia* is romantic in tone, *Martín Rivas* is realistic and makes no attempt to colour its pictures. The author has nevertheless succeeded in presenting a gallery of living portraits. Of CIRILO VILLAVERDE, the Cuban novelist, it has been said that his regionalism is as great as that of Pereda, though of course his work reaches a far lower literary standard. ARISTIDES ROJAS (1826-94) was one of the first Spanish-Americans to take to the short story. His tales are just a reproduction of Venezuelan life, as one might judge from such titles as *El cuji de Casquero*. They are interesting, if lacking in breadth of appeal.

Interest in their own country was not restricted by Spanish-American writers to poetry and to prose fiction. It produced a remarkable crop of historians, chief among whom were the Chilean trio, Amunátegui, Barros Arana, and Vicuña Mackenna. MIGUEL LUÍS AMUNÁTEGUI (1828-88) devoted himself under the guidance of Andrés Bello to an academic life, became a professor at the University of Chile, and wrote a great deal of history and politics. Unfortunately, his straightened circumstances forced him to write too rapidly, and his works will scarcely outlive those of his colleagues. In later life he entered politics and held the offices of Minister of the Interior and Minister of Public Instruction. In 1876 he offered himself for the presidency, but was defeated. DIEGO BARROS ARANA (1830-1907), who was for many years rector of the University of Chile, has left the standard work on the *Historia general de la independencia de Chile*. BENJAMÍN VICUÑA MACKENNA (1831-86) was endowed with true Spanish fecundity and produced no fewer than eighty-six full-

length books and fifty-two pamphlets on Chilean history and politics. Among his most interesting contemporary narratives is his stirring account of the naval battle of Iquique written a few months after the fight and brimming with patriotism.

Other republics also boasted their historians. Mexico produced Ignacio Manuel Altamirano (1833-90) and García Icazbalcete (d. 1894), the author of a life of Balboa. Peru was even more fortunate in the scholarly RICARDO PALMA (1833-1919), one of the great figures of Spanish-American literature. He published works on erudition, poetry, and history; but his fame rests mainly on his *Tradiciones peruanas*, a series of short stories which recount the leading incidents in the history of Peru. Some, like *Con días y ollas venceremos*, deal with episodes in the War of Liberation and other times of political and military activity; others, like *Muerta en vida*, describe Peruvian society. Their plots may be questionable as history, but they reflect the spirit of the time and so form valuable documents. Ecuador is represented by Federico González Suárez, a priest, whose chief work is a *Historia general de la República del Ecuador* (1890).

Towards the end of the period the Pan-Americanism, which we have noticed in the works of Andrade and others, spread beyond mere words. MIGUEL ANTONIO CARO (1843-1909), son of the Colombian general J. E. Caro, devoted himself to the cultural union of Spain and Spanish-America. At his instance literary academies were established in various parts of the New World, in order to unify language and literary forms. He himself translated Virgil and wrote several prose works on politics. Other writers of the end of the century were José Manuel Marroquín, president of Colombia from 1900 to 1904, who under the pen-name of 'Gil Blas' wrote politico-social satire; Enrique José Varona (b. 1855), a Cuban journalist, who wrote poetry and composed works on education; and last, but not least, BARTOLOME MITRÉ (1821-1906), one

of the most distinguished of Spanish-Americans. Born in Buenos Aires, he served his country in the war against Paraguay, was wounded in the face, and rose to the rank of general. His simple tastes did not prevent him from rising to the highest office in the Argentine, for he was president from 1862 to 1868. He was a friend of Vicuña Mackenna and like him wrote history. His *Historia de San Martín* gives a striking account of the national hero and contains a stirring narrative of the passage of the Andes. His poetic works do not come up to his prose. He translated Longfellow and wrote a good many lyrics, of which the best is *A mi hija Delfinia*. Rubén Darío, the famous Nicaraguan poet, addressed an *Oda a Mitre* (1906).

The Modernist Movement.—The severing of the old links with Spain left Spanish-America without a body of recognised literary tradition. Moreover, the animosities of the War of Liberation shut off the influence of Spain. In these circumstances Spanish-Americans turned to France, whom they now began to regard as their cultural godmother. Political exiles, wealthy families who yearned after luxury, tired statesmen, and young men seeking an education not to be obtained at home, flocked to Paris, forming there a considerable foreign 'colony.' The French capital rapidly became for the Spanish-American the acme and centre of civilisation. It was therefore only natural that French literature should become the model for the rising generation.

At the moment the parnassians and symbolists (decadents) were supreme in France. The former received their name from the *Parnasse contemporain*, an anthology published by a group of poets in 1866. Its chief representatives were Leconte de Lisle and François Coppée. The movement was a reaction from romanticism. Where the romanticists had been subjective, the parnassians became objective. Their aims were fostered by the scientific spirit of the age, which threw a chilling light upon the inaccuracies and vagueness of the romanticists, and by the oppressive character of the reign of Napoleon III. The chief features

of their work were sobriety of conception, lofty seclusion, and an objective attitude to life. The reaction against these new ideas was immediate and resulted in the schools of so-called symbolists and decadents. The names principally connected with them are Mallarmé, Gautier, Arthur Rimbaud, René Ghil, Banville, Baudelaire, and Paul Verlaine. These poets would have nothing to do with realism and impersonality, but demanded self-expression. Their technique aimed at the attainment of musical verse, in which the effects were supposed to be obtained by coloured audition. Certain sounds were associated with certain colours ; for instance, the vowel *o* might represent white. Unfortunately for this system, the association of sounds and colours seems to differ with different people, thus negating the truth and the value of it. The colours used were delicate shades rather than bright effects. In fact, poetic composition was modelled on musical composition. The outward form of this is seen in Gautier's *Symphonie en Blanc Majeur*, a poem in which the words, concepts, and sounds, as well as the subject, are carefully chosen so as to produce a general effect of whiteness. In the work of the school there is an absence of pompous verbiage and a freedom of structure which is pleasing ; but the poems are meant for the initiate only, and in this sense may be termed modern gongorism and may be regarded as part of the decadence of art noticed in the closing years of the 19th century.

Such were the models which young Spanish-Americans found awaiting them in Paris at the beginning of the last quarter of the century. Their response to it was immediate, but they did not slavishly reproduce the French methods in their poems. Circumstances have made Spanish-America cosmopolitan, and ingredients were taken here and there to modify the French dish. In Germany the new generation went to the original source of symbolism and sought inspiration in Heine. Others took the Spanish distillation of Bécquer and his followers. England supplied

the extravagance and the social bitterness of Byron. The United States provided the influence of Poe. The result of this mixture, one might call it *olla podrida*, has been modernism. This movement is an intellectual, as well as an artistic, reaction. It is an assertion of the equality of Spanish-American literature with that of western Europe; but it is so vehement an assertion that one suspects an underlying inferiority complex in the writers. Much of their work seems to aim at compensating the evident inferiority of Spanish-Americans in business and other material aspects of life. The attitude assumed is that of cosmopolitan superiority. Nevertheless, the work of the best writers has shown great beauty of form and ideas. Its eclectic method caused it to learn from the parnassians new beauties of line and form, and from the symbolists and decadents a sense of colour and a deeper feeling of the musical possibilities of words.

The year 1888 is accepted as the beginning of the modernist movement, since then it was that Rubén Darío, the founder of the new school, published his epoch-making work *Azul*. But he was not without his forerunners. These were the Cuban José Martí and the Mexican M. Gutiérrez Nájera, in whose works the new spirit is clearly visible. JOSÉ MARTÍ (1853-95) has been called "the Apostle of Cuban liberty." In early youth he became an insurgent and was deported to Spain, where he was allowed to study law at Seville and Saragossa. Returning to America, he was married in Mexico at the age of twenty. Five years later he returned to Cuba to carry on his campaign of sedition and was again deported. He now made his way to New York, where he became a journalist. In 1895 he was shot by the Spanish authorities at Dos Rios in Cuba while engaged in spreading sedition.

Martí has left prose as well as poetic work. The former consisted of articles—'aquellas formidables líricas correspondencias,' as Darío called them—contributed to such papers as *La Nación* of Buenos Aires, *La Opinión Nacional*

of Caracas, and *El Partido Liberal* of Mexico City, and of art criticism published in the New York *Sun*. He was a believer in the unity of Spanish-America, and his journalism was directed towards this as well as to the independence of Cuba. His style was fiery and vigorous. Darío, who called him *aquel escritor único* and devoted to him a section of *Los raros*, says: *Escribía una prosa profusa, llena de vitalidad y de color, de plasticidad y de música*. His chief poetic works are *Ismaelillo* and *Versos sencillos*. He held that poetry was the expression of a man's personality and cared nothing for polish, allusion, or any of the usual ornaments of verse.

MANUEL GUTIÉRREZ NÁJERA (1859-95) was brought up in pious surroundings and was early influenced by the mystical poetry of Juan de Ávila, San Juan de la Cruz, and others. He was precocious and published a newspaper article at the age of 13 and a successful poem at 18. When he took to poetry, he followed the lead of Bécquer and Rosalía de Castro, but his contact with French influence, owing to the presence of Napoleon's troops, who were sent to support the Emperor Maximilian, greatly modified his style and added to it a Gallic flavour. His prose writings consist of newspaper articles and tales published under various pen-names (*El duque Job*, *Puck*, etc.). Their style is lyrical and full of poetic images, paradoxes, and epigrams. His poetic style belongs to the symbolist school. *De Blanco* (1888), which was doubtless suggested by Gautier's *Symphonie*, puts into practice the theory of coloured audition, and a hint of the same belief is found in the name, *Revista Azul*, of a periodical which he helped to found in 1894. Some of his best poems are *Ondas muertas* and *Mariposas*. Always morbid, he developed a despairing pessimism towards the end of his short life. The mood is expressed in *Después*.

Two poets neither fit into the last period nor into the present, but are included here since they certainly show traces of modernism. The first is JULIÁN DEL CASAL (1863-93), a neurotic, morbid personality, who delighted

in striking and revolting images such as that in which he compares a sunset with a slashed stomach. His chief works are *Crepuscular*, *En el campo*, *Nostalgia*, and *Páginas de vida*, the last dealing with an interview which he had with Darío. The other is JOSÉ ASUNCIÓN SILVA (1865-96), another tragic individual. Born at Bogotá, he early paid a visit to Paris and came under French influence. The polish of the verse has caused some critics to deny him a place among the modernists, but the metrical freedom and melody of his poetry, together with his pessimism, differentiate him from the poets of the last period. But for his early death he may have rivalled Darío for the leadership of Spanish-American poetry. His best works are *Los maderos de S. Juan*, *Luz de luna*, *Día de defuntos*, *Nocturnos*, and the prose book of table talk called *De sobremesa*, which he finished just before his suicide. Many of his MSS. were lost in the wreck of the ship in which he was returning to Colombia in 1895.

SALVADOR DÍAZ MIRÓN (b. 1853) has lived to see the movement develop fully, so that, although he was one of Darío's fore-runners, he is perhaps to be regarded more as a contemporary. He had led the usual stormy life of Spanish-American writers, mingling journalism with politics and being imprisoned for attacks on the existing order. In 1913-14 he was managing-editor of *El Imparcial*. His most popular poem is *A gloria*, but in *Lascar* is a collection of carefully chosen and carefully polished pieces which the poet evidently regards as most representative of his work.

The leader of the new movement was RUBÉN DARÍO (1867-1916), whose real name was Felix Rubén García Sarmiento. Born at León in Nicaragua, he was brought up by his grandmother. Like so many Spanish-American writers, he was very precocious, publishing a poem before he was 13 and becoming a journalist at 14. A little later, he joined the staffs of newspapers in Santiago, Valparaiso, and Buenos Aires, but in 1890 he returned to Nicaragua, where he married Rafaela Contreras. Political troubles caused him to flee to Guatemala almost at once, but two

years later he represented his country at the Columbus centenary in Spain. At this time he made the acquaintance of Menéndez y Pelayo, Castelar, Núñez de Arce, Campoamor, Zorilla, and other distinguished Spanish men of letters. Not long after this his wife died, and at the end of a period of intense grief he married Francisca Sánchez. In his later years he travelled a good deal in America and Europe, filling odd diplomatic posts. In February, 1916, he just managed to reach home before he died.

His works are numerous. *Epístolas y Poemas* (1885) and *Abrojos* (1887) are juvenile exercises tinged with romanticism and written under the influence of Victor Hugo. In 1888 appeared *Azul*, a volume of mixed prose and verse, whose strong parnassianism shows the poet to have come under the influence of Catulle Mendès, Gautier, and Paul de Saint-Victor. In *Prosas profanas* (1896), which consists of poetry alone, the author first found himself, but he only reached his zenith in *Cantos de vida y esperanza* (1905). It is in this volume that his two gems, *Soneto a Cervantes* and *Canción de otoño en primavera*, appeared. His later works did nothing to increase his reputation. The chief are the *Oda a Mitre* (1906), *El canto errante* (1907), and two expressions of Pan-Americanism: *A Colón* and *Canto a la Argentina* (1910). His prose work comprises much journalism and literary criticism. *Los raros* (1893) contains sketches of many contemporaries, while the *Vida de Rubén Darío, escrita por él mismo* (1912) is of great autobiographical interest.

Darío's work shows three stages of development. The first is parnassian, the second symbolist, and the third cosmopolitan. In the final phase he became the representative of modernism in poetry. Besides the common traits of melody and music, he shows a great regard for technique. He invented several new metres, including a 15 and a 12-syllabled verse and the free sonnet. Aristocratic by nature, Darío hated the crowd and shunned it. His poetry is therefore refined and somewhat *culto*.

In dealing with the followers of Darío, we are judging contemporaries, always a difficult matter. It will be best herefore to pass over them rapidly, indicating a few obvious classifications and pausing slightly on a few distinguished men. JOSÉ SANTOS CHOCANO, who is considered by some to be a rival of Darío, was born at Callao in 1875. His poetry has been influenced by that of Heredia and Walt Whitman. His works include three juvenile poems: *Las santas* (1895), which was directed against the Peruvian government, *En la aldea* (1895), *Azahares* (1896); *La vopeya del Morro* (1899), a florid, sonorous epic on the War of the Pacific in 1879-83; *El canto del siglo* (1900), a pedestrian summary of the century showing the influence of Hugo; *Alma América, poemas Indo-Españoles* (1906), his best work; and *Fiat Lux* (1908), an anthology of his previous work with some modernist additions.

Unlike the trumpet-voiced Santos Chocano is his countryman JOSÉ MARÍA EGUREN. A versatile artist who adds considerable skill as a painter and musician to his poetic talents, Eguren is modest, retiring and contemplative. Under the influence of Poe, Mallarmé and Rubén Darío he is a neo-symbolist, writing verse whose true meaning as to be sought with great care and diligence. *Lied III* of his *Simbólicas* (1911) will serve as an example of modernist poetry:—

En la costa brava
suenan las campanas,
llamando a los antiguos
bajeles sumergidos

Y con tamiz celeste
y al luminar e hielo,
pasan tristemente
los bajeles muertos.

Carcomidos, flavos,
se acercan vagando . . .
y por las luces dejan
oscurosas estelas.

Con su lenguaje incierto
parece que sollozan,
a la voz de invierno,
preterida historia.

En la costa brava
suena la campana,
Y se vuelven las naves
al panteón de los mares.

Guillermo Valencia, a Colombian, follows the parnassian school. His best poem is the *Leyenda a Silva*. Amado Nervo (1864–1913), a Mexican, whose best work is to be seen in *Perlas negras* and *Serenidad*, was also a parnassian. So too was the Cuban Ramón Domingo Perés, whose work may be judged from the collection called *Musgo*. Others like Leopoldo Díaz of the Argentine, Ricardo Jaime Freyre of Bolivia, Julio Herrera y Reissig of Uruguay, and Enrique González Martínez of Mexico must be mere names.

The modernist movement has affected the novel as well as poetry, but more slowly. The early novelists of the period like Carlos Reyles of Uruguay were still writing naturalistic novels, or else regionalist novels like those of the Costa Rican Aquiles J. Echeverría. ENRIQUE RODRÍGUEZ LARRETA, of the Argentine, symbolises the resumption of close relations between Spain and her former colonies in *La gloria de don Ramiro*, a story of 16th century Spain and one of the best historical novels in the language. The author is a literary reactionary, however, and his style harks back to the middle of the last century.

The real modernist novel first appears in the work of the Venezuelan RUFINO BLANCO-FOMBONA. Born of a good family at Caracas on June 17th, 1874, he joined in a revolution at the age of 18. Later he studied at Philadelphia, but a duel forced him to leave the U.S.A. In 1901 he became Secretary General for the province of Zulia in Venezuela, where the slaughter of a would-be assassin caused him to be imprisoned. In 1902 he was appointed consul at Amsterdam, and later he was Governor of the

Venezuelan Territorio Amazonas. He has retired to Europe and lives in Spain. Like most Spanish-American writers, he writes poetry as well as prose. His best poems are to be found in *Pequeña ópera lírica* (1904) and *Cantos de la prisión y del destierro* (1911). His prose comprises two volumes of literary criticism: *Letras y letrados de Hispano-América* (1908) and *Grandes escritores de América* (1917); a sardonic, but forceful, political work entitled *Judas Capitalino* (1912); *Cuentos de poeta* (1900), which consists of tales displaying the deepest pessimism; and a number of reflections on a wide range of subjects assembled under the name of *La lámpara de Aladino* (1915). But chief of all are his two novels, *El hombre de hierro* (1907) and *El hombre de oro* (1915), both of which are ironical, but powerful, descriptions of Venezuelan life. His style has been followed in *La Vorágine*, a description of life in the llanos and selvas of Colombia by JOSÉ EUSTASIO RIBERA. The book is indeed a whirlwind, but it contains fine passages, like those of the stampede of the bulls and the attack of the forest ants. Ribera has also written a book of sonnets called *Tierra de Promisión*, one line of which illustrates modernist poetry better than anything else perhaps: *Por momentos se oyó la vibración de la luz*.

The short story has been a part of the development of modernism. Many of the poets and other writers produced them, but among the writers whose special claim to mention lies in the short story are Manuel Ugarte (b. 1878), who wrote racy tales of the Argentine in *Cuentos de la Pampa*; José López Portillo y Rojas (b. 1850), of Mexico, whose realistic novel *La parcela* is less interesting than his short stories like *El billete de lotería*; and Heriberto Frías, also a Mexican, who is the author of *Leyendas históricas mejicanas* and of a horribly realistic novel *Tomochic*.

Non-fictitious prose covers a wide range of subjects. In the field of philosophy JOSÉ ENRIQUE RODÓ (1872-1917) takes first place. Born of a good family in Montevideo, he was early destined for the Church, but became Pro-

fessor of Literature in the local University. In 1901 he gave up teaching for politics and journalism. During the War of 1914-18, he went to Italy as the representative of an Argentine newspaper and died shortly after at Palermo. His first work, *Ariel*, teaches the renunciation of ugliness and the cult of beauty. His second, *Motivos de Proteo*, gives the maxim *reformarse es vivir* as the principle of life. *El Mirador de Próspero*, a work of ripe thought, consists of essays on Bolívar, Montalvo, and other distinguished South Americans; of reviews on novels and dramas; and of general reflections. It strikes a keynote of intense Hispano-Americanism. Travel-books are represented by the writings of ENRIQUE GÓMEZ CARRILLO and EMILIO BOBADILLA (1868-1921). The former was born in Guatemala in 1873, but later settled in Paris, where he became the friend of Darío and Blanco-Fombona. He has recorded his impressions of Greece and of Egypt, and his chief work (*La sonrisa de la esfinge*) is well worth perusal. The latter was a Cuban who wrote under the name of Fray Candil. Among other things he has penned a literary sketch of London, which he called '*la ciudad sin vértebras*.'

Philology has been represented by RUFINO JOSÉ CUERVO (1844-1911), a self-educated Colombian. Besides an unfinished *Diccionario de construcción y régimen de la lengua castellana*, his works include *Apuntaciones críticas sobre el lenguaje bogotano*, an edition of Bello's *Gramática*, and *Disquisiciones sobre filología castellana*. Eduardo Pichardo of Santo Domingo is the author of a *Diccionario de voces cubanas*. JOSÉ VICTORINO LASTARRIA of Chile has described the history of his country during a stirring period in his *Historia del medio siglo*. Most of the more important writers have been literary critics as well as other things, as Rodó, Bobadilla, Blanco-Fombona, Cuervo, and Manuel Ugarte. Besides these, there are Luis G. Urbina, whose chief work is *La vida literaria de Méjico*, Leopoldo Lugones of the Argentine, Justo Sierra of Mexico, Pedro S. Zulén of Peru, of whom no more can be said, since exigen-

cies of space now compel us to close this inadequate summary of Spanish-American literature.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

I. Goldberg's *Studies in South American Literature* (New York, 1920) is the most handy book. It gives an account of the leading authors of the modern period. Many of the texts have been published in the *Biblioteca contemporánea* (Garnier Frères, Paris). Vol. 45 (*Poesías mejicanas*) and vol. 60 (*Poesías americanos*) of the *Colección de los mejores autores antiguos y modernos* will also be found useful.

CHAPTER VIII

MODERN TENDENCIES

WE have now reached a point when the authors with whose work we are to deal are for the most part living, and our view must lack the perspective on which alone safe judgments can be made. Hence, this chapter has been headed 'tendencies,' to hint that all that can be done is to try and point out the trend which literature seems to be following in its various branches. What is certain is that thirty years ago Spanish literature underwent a revolution. Its causes, too, are fairly clear ; but whether what appear to us now as the essential developments of that revolution will to later generations seem passing, accidental phases we cannot tell.

The political situation of Spain in the closing decade of the last century was one of make-believe. The leaders of all parties had had enough of *pronunciamentos* ; they were determined to whitewash state policy ; and they invented a regular succession of quiet alternations of office. Elections were farcical. Wire-pulling was the essential motive power of the state. While abroad Spain sank into utter insignificance, at home her people were made to believe that they were enjoying the prestige of a Great Power. Then the blow fell. In 1898 the Cuban insurgents succeeded in bringing the United States to their aid, and, in the war that followed, the ineptitude of the Spanish Government was made evident. The treaty that ensued left Spain shorn of the last remnants—Cuba and Puerto Rico—of her once vast empire in America. The shock to the country was immense : its vanity received a piercing wound. Though the loss of the colonies was in effect the

casting off of an incubus, the whole nation felt that it had been betrayed by its leaders into following wrong ideals and that a radical change of outlook was urgently necessary. The national prosperity which attended Spain's neutrality in the Great War of 1914-18 delayed the inevitable revolution, and it was not until 1923 that Primo de Ribera's *coup d'état* overthrew the old order. The events of 1931 have proved that even this movement did not go far enough to satisfy the nation.

If in politics the Spanish-American War was slow in producing its effects, in literature the reaction was immediate. Tradition became hateful, authority was disregarded, existing principles were rejected, and the 'generation of 1898' pushed themselves to the fore. Their view is illustrated by the following dialogue in *Esperanza nuestra*, a play by G. Martínez Sierra, himself a leading exponent of the new movement.

Carmila : Aquí hay un periódico . . . Mayo, 1898 . . . ¡ Bah !
De hace diez y nueve años . . . ni siquiera es historia.

Natalio : ¡ Cómo que no ! Historia de España . . . y de la más característica.

Carmila : ¿ Ah, sí ? ¿ Pues qué pasó ?

Natalio : ¡ Oh española, hija, nieta y biznieta de caciques ! ¿ No sabe V. lo que pasó en su patria en 1898 ?

Carmila : ¿ Qué ?

Natalio : ¡ Señora, en el año de gracia de 1898, España echó la llave definitivamente al sepulchro del Cid !

Nené : Sí, mujer, se perdieron las colonias.

Headed by a group of intellectuals, of whom Benito Pérez Galdós—who thus bridges the two periods—Azorín, Costa, Ganivet, Ortega, and Unamuno were the chief, the modernist movement, as it has been called, looked abroad for inspiration and found it, strange to say, chiefly in the prosperous republics of Latin-America who had thrown off the Spanish yoke some eighty years before. The alienation of Cuba and Puerto Rico had removed a standing memorial of former oppression and opened the path of reconciliation between the mother country and her now

independent offspring. The reconciliation was the quicker because the wrath of the Latin-Americans was turned against the United States on account of that nation's retention of Puerto Rico and her limitation of the independence of Cuba, the manipulation of the Monroe doctrine against their interests, and the bullying of Colombia over the Panama Canal. In 1900 the Argentine cruiser *Presidente Sarmiento* visited Barcelona and received so cordial a welcome that the government in Buenos Aires decided to drop from the national anthem two stanzas reminiscent of the War of Liberation. The coming-of-age ceremonies of Alfonso XIII in 1902 were used as an opportunity for the friendly gathering of representatives from the Spanish-American nations. Finally, a Pan-Hispanic exhibition was organised in Seville and Barcelona in 1928 to cement the steadily growing bonds of friendship. Meanwhile, the education of Spanish-American children in Spain increased, as did also the number of Spanish-American visitors to their old spiritual home.

Spanish-American culture and letters had been discovered and recognised by Juan Valera, whose *Cartas americanas*, as has been said before, had had much good to say of transatlantic writers as a whole and in particular had foretold a great future for Rubén Darío. Menéndez y Pelayo had gone further by collecting an *Antología de poetas hispano-americanos*, which he published between 1893 and 1895. The 'generation of 1898' realised the vigour of the young republics and sought inspiration from their writers. Darío, hailed as a poetic genius, became the prime source, and every department of literature, save the drama, began to draw from the new wells of Spanish-America. The writers of the New World were accepted as fellow-workers and their ideals, style, and methods were adopted.

But, as we have seen, the trend of Spanish-American literature was cosmopolitan. Hence, Spanish writers began to look abroad to other European nations. England

supplied the essay, France and Germany gave the originals on which Darío's principles were based. The school of Heine and of his Spanish follower Bécquer came into vogue as poetic models, its half-tones and its suggestiveness taking the place of the burnished stanzas of Núñez de Arce and other poets of the romantic aftermath. There was no slavish imitation, however : Spanish character is always ready for inspiration, but averse from imitation. An intense individualism and regionalism set in, and it is remarkable that the most vigorous writers of the contemporary period have been Basques, Gallegans, Valencians, and Andalucians, but not Castilians. Hence, it is difficult to group together the writers of the 'generation of 1898': its members would be among the first to deny any principles of classification. And yet it is possible to discuss certain common characteristics to which has been given the collective name of modernism.

These characteristics are a return to the primitive, a love of naked truth and sincerity, a revolt against shams and conventionality. They show themselves in the restless, eclectic, cosmopolitan character of the new literature and the impatience of authority evinced by the writers ; in the rejection of the old ornaments of style, the use of simple sentences, the preference for common nouns, the subtlety and flexibility of language ; and in an extended scope of poetry which includes the commonplace. This may sound very new, but in reality it is very old, a recurrent phase which seems to close every period of literature. Theories of coloured audition and mannerisms addressed to the initiate few are but a modern version of gongorism or conceptism. As Aubrey Bell says in his *Contemporary Spanish Literature* : 'However far back one goes, one will find the Modernist, subjective, decadent artist : El Greco the Cretan, rightly dear to the generation of 1898, was a Modernist (has not his art been described as *eine denkende Materie, une pensée nue*, more akin to music than to sculpture ?) ; the Roman poet Catullus, in the exquisite

pliancy of his metres, in his subjectivity and extravagance, was essentially a Modernist.'

The vaunted aim at true depiction too often ends in a photographic, as distinct from artistic, reproduction of nature. The naturalism of Pérez Galdós was saved from this fate by the breadth of the writer's view, while VICENTE BLASCO IBÁÑEZ (1867-1928) was rescued by his regionalism. This novelist's works fall into three periods. In his early life (1894-1903) his novels, *Arroz y tartana*, *La barraca*, *Flor de Mayo*, *Entre naranjos*, *Cañas y barro*, display an intimate knowledge of Valencian life and scenery and are imbued with strong local colour. The influence of Zola and of Hugo is evident, *Arroz y tartana* being even tedious through the reproduction of minute detail in the Zolaesque manner. A middle period followed from 1904-09 in which the output consisted of *La maja desnuda*, *Sangre y arena*, and *Los muertos mandan*. Here, too, the author shows a command of details, but he has further developed his vigorous depiction of character and thus reaches what is usually accepted as his high-water mark.

The later period from 1914-28 was cosmopolitan. *Los cuatro jinetes del Apocalipsis* is a fine war novel, recording much of the sentiment of the time, though its style is careless. The character of Madariaga the Centaur is strong and individual, but other personages are types. The book was one of the most meteoric 'best sellers' ever known and had the advantage of being reproduced on the cinematograph. The other works of this period suffer from the author's less intimate knowledge of his scenes and a tendency to obtrude republican and anticlerical views. In fact, Blasco Ibáñez rapidly made the novel into an instrument of propaganda.

The dangers of naturalism were not avoided by Felipe Trigo (b. 1868), whose chief novels *Las ingenuas*, *Sor Demonio*, and *La sed de amor* are mere analyses of vice and immorality. A similar defect is seen in the works of Antonio de Hoyos y Vinent, marqués de Vicente, in which

the life of a small section of Madrid society is pictured. Rather better are *Entre todas las mujeres* and *Muera el señorito* by Rafael López de Haro (b. 1887), though again in the latter novel is seen the tendency to depict the special and transitory, rather than the universal.

Some writers have escaped naturalism. Ricardo León (b. 1877) managed his escape by being a reactionary, and his *Casta de Hidalgos* was greeted with indignation by his fellow-writers. Nevertheless, he persisted, bringing out a number of other works, of which *Alcalá de los Zegries* is one of the best. The MARQUÉS DE VALLE-INCLÁN (b. 1870), on the other hand, prefers a poetic type of novel, of which the names *Sonata de primavera*, *Sonata de otoño*, *Sonata de invierno* are significant. We see in this writer the tendency to the trilogy device, by which the interest in certain characters is maintained throughout three novels. Among his other works may be mentioned *Gerifaltes de antaño* and *Flor de santidad*. The symbolism noticeable here and there in his works becomes a marked feature in the style of GABRIEL MIRÓ, the author of *El ángel*, *El molino*, and *El caracol del faro*. This modern *estilo culto* makes reading a tedious business, its practitioners seeming to forget that fiction is a diversion, not a study.

One of the most original and vigorous writers is Pío BAROJA, a Basque, born in 1872. Beginning under the influence of Zola, he wrote a trilogy of picaresque novels, *La busca*, *Mala hierba*, *Aurora roja*, in which he was able to display the modern artist's preference for the strikingly ugly, physically and morally. Regionalism came to the rescue, however, and inspired the Basque trilogy *Zalacaín el aventurero*, *Tierra vasca*, and *La casa de Aizgorri*. These are full of intimate description of country and character and are the writer's best work. Following Pérez Galdós, Baroja tried his hand at a series of historical novels under the collective name of *Memorias de un hombre de acción*. The earlier ones, like *Bailén*, are good, though their historical truth is less than readers accustomed

to Pérez Galdós would expect. The later ones deal with intrigues, which are often of no importance and frequently stray rather far from history. Thus, *La ciudad de niebla*, whose only connexion with Spanish history lies in the cause of the heroine's exile in London. The book contains a superficial description of boarding-house life in the 'City of Fog.' While on the subject of historical novels, we may mention Alfonso Danvila, author of *Los hechos fraticidas en España*, and Amos de Escalante, whose *Ave Maris Stella* is a reversion to the style of Enrique Gil.

Other modern novelists are Augusto Martínez Olmedilla (b. 1880), Concha Espina, whose best work is *La esfinge maragata* and whose style is featured by a mass of note-like sentences and a host of unfamiliar nouns, and Ramón Pérez de Ayala (b. 1881) whose best full-length novel is *Los trabajos de Urbano y Simona*. This last writer is better known for his short stories, a form of literature which, like the dramatic *género chico*, has become rapidly more and more fashionable. Its leading exponent is EUSEBIO BLASCO (1844-1903), whose *Cuentos aragoneses*, published in 1901, combine a charm of humour with a racy and human depiction of character. In his prologue to the first series the writer says: 'Los llamo así (i.e. *Cuentos aragoneses*), porque ya se han publicado varias colecciones de cuentos *baturros*, y además son un pedazo del *folk-lore* aragonés. A excepción del ultimo cuento . . . todos los demás son de la tierra; la mayor parte se los oí a mi padre o a mis abuelos; algunos son cuentos de cuatro palabras, que estan en todas las colecciones como chistes conocidos, dichos por los *baturros* de Zaragoza, Huesca o Teruel, y dialogados y estirados por mí, convertidos en escenas familiares o populares.' The short story has tended to be above all regional, and Alberto Casanal, another Aragonese, has written several series descriptive of his fellow-provincials, beginning in 1898 with *Cuentos Baturros*. Juan Blas y Ubide also wrote of Aragon, while Arturo Reyes dealt with his native province of Málaga.

In a short survey of this kind a large number of lesser authors have had to be omitted, but it must be understood that they exist and are turning out novels by the score every year. As education penetrates downwards into modern society, the reading public grows wider and wider and, *l'appétit venant en mangeant*, the demand for 'light literature,' i.e. novels and short stories, calls forth a constant supply of fresh matter. The uncritical multitude weighs more with the publisher than does the tasteful reader; hence, the majority of the output is ephemeral and unliterary. Fiction aims at the original, the unusual, and the conspicuous. Authors aim at arresting attention, caring little how they do it. Novels tend therefore to be 'strong,' i.e. coarse and brutal, displaying 'cave man' heroes; they are usually thematic and even propagandist, and often sexually indelicate.

One of the principal characteristics of modernism is the rise of the essay. Short articles on criticism, politics, and other similar subjects had existed previously, but the essay embracing the world of thought was a new form. In a way it represents the modern tendency towards *géneros chicos* and does for philosophy what the *cuento* has done for the novel. Its founder was ÁNGEL GANIVET (1865-98), a Grana-dino, who was foremost among the 'generation of 1898.' In contrast with his colleagues in that movement, he wrote in a restrained style, his aim being to point out and foster the good qualities in the Spanish character and institutions. His works consist of a couple of novels and some serious composition, but his masterpiece is *Idearium español*, published in 1897, the year before the author committed suicide. It is a long essay which, after outlining the reactions undergone by Spanish philosophy and the geographical conditions which have moulded Spanish character, depicts the Spaniard and his country as a series of contradictions and paradoxes, ending with recommendations for securing Spain's future greatness.

Ganivet was succeeded by the fiery MIGUEL DE UNAMUNO

(b. 1864), a Basque who became professor of Greek and rector of the University of Salamanca. A liberal in politics and unsociable in temper, he writes in a forceful and impressive style and aims at truth, however unpalatable and tactless this may be. Essentially individual, he is nevertheless the essence of modernism, striving with sincere and unashamed egotism against the shams and conventions of life. A writer of novels and short stories, he is at his best in his essays, where he expounds a primitive philosophy. Between 1916 and 1919 he published a collection in seven volumes. Like most of his contemporaries, he is constantly thinking of Spain and her future, for, though he calls himself an anti-nationalist, he is really intensely national. Just as he questions all existing philosophical doctrine, so he analyses the Spanish theory and method of government and openly criticises abuses. This led to his exile under the dictatorship of Primo de Ribera ; but he was recalled on Primo's resignation. It is characteristic of the man that on his return to Madrid he at once gave a violent address against the government. He has written poetry (*Poesías*, 1907).

Another essayist who played a leading part in the revolution of 1898 was JOSÉ ORTEGA Y GASSET. Born in Madrid in 1883 and educated in Germany, he writes in a journalistic and sensational style ; but as compared with his contemporaries he has published little. *Meditaciones del Quijote* appeared in 1914 and *Personas, obras y cosas*, his masterpiece, in 1916. Since then he has written *El espectador* (1917) and *España invertebrata* (1922), a work which may well be compared with Gide's *Idéarium*. Even more of a journalist is José Martínez Ruíz, better known by his pen-name of Azorín. Born in Valencia in 1876, he took to writing as a career and has written much for periodicals, though he has published little in book form. His *El alma castellana*, published in 1900, was one of the manifestoes of the 'generation of 1898.' Perhaps his best work is *Al margen de los clásicos*, which appeared in 1915.

Few writers have ever had such skill in weaving striking descriptions of everyday things and of making the commonplace interesting. His originality in treatment is well illustrated by his *Don Juan*, in which the hackneyed theme appears in a completely new guise. RAMIRO DE MAEZTU, an Anglo-Basque, who was born in Viscaya and has seen a good deal of the world, worked as a labourer in Cuba in his early years and has since lived in England and Germany. For some time also he was Spanish ambassador in Buenos Aires. His writings are of a liberal philosophic nature and appear mostly in newspapers.

The peculiar Spanish love for aphorisms which we have referred to more than once before shows itself in the works of two men. RAMÓN GÓMEZ DE LA SERNA published in 1917 under the title of *Greguerías* an odd collection of phrases, sentences, and tiny essays somewhat after the manner of Ben Jonson's *Timber*. Their syncopated style reminds one of jazz music, another product of the modern mind. José Bergamín has also written aphorisms of the same kind in *El cohete y la estrella*. Other essayists, whose mention can only be nominal, but who must be inserted to make up the background crowd, are Luís de Araquistáin, Gabriel Alomar, Manuel Bueno, and Eugenio d'Ors, whose *Nuevo Glosario* and other works resemble those of Ramón Gómez de la Serna and José Bergamín in their threat to break up the essay into a kind of *género ínfimo*.

Turning to works of learning and criticism, we find that the inspiration of Menéndez y Pelayo had produced a whole crop of followers. One of the earliest was EMILIO COTARELO Y MORI (b. 1858), who specialised in the study of the drama of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. His deep knowledge has made him the chief authority on the details of his subject. Less of a specialist was JUAN MENÉNDEZ PIDAL (1858-1915), who, himself a poet, publishing a book of *Poesías* in 1913, delved into the subject of popular poetry in general and published in 1885 a work on *Poesía popular asturiana*. He must not be confused with RAMÓN MENÉNDEZ

PIDAL (1869-1930), on whom the mantle of Menéndez y Pelayo fell. Less literary, but more scientific, than his master, he has made himself the chief authority on Spanish philology. His *Manual de Gramática histórica española*, a fourth edition of which appeared in 1918, has brought Spanish learning in this subject up to the level of that of other western European nations. But his more literary work concentrates on the popular epics, lyrics, and romances of the early Middle Ages, his *Crónica general de España* (1898) and *El cantar de mio Cid* (1908-11) being the standard works on the poetry written about the national hero. JULIO CEJADOR Y FRAUCA (b. 1864) is also a philologist, his chief work on this subject being a *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (1908-14); but he is also a literary historian of great originality and acumen. Similar work has been done by ADOLFO BONILLA Y SAN MARTÍN (b. 1875), who, besides some works on philosophy and law, has published the *Anales de literatura española* (1904). He is also a *cervantista* of some repute, having collaborated with Schevill in the production of the standard edition of *El Quijote*. SALVADOR MADARIAGA, who held the chair of Spanish at Oxford for a couple of years and has almost as great a command of English as of his native tongue, has written some critical works in a paradoxical and vigorous style. His latest book is *Spain*, which is written in English and consists of a number of chapters on the geography, history, politics, and literature of his country. Lastly, we may mention as the leading contemporary historian RAFAEL ALTAMIRA Y CREVEA (b. 1866), who, besides contributing to the *Cambridge Modern History*, has produced a huge work on the *Historia de España y de la civilización española* (1900-11). For other writers we must refer our readers to bibliographies, of which those in Fitzmaurice-Kelly's *Historia de la literatura española* and in Hurtado and Palencia's compilation on the same subject are the best.

The contemporary drama has followed the lines of Pérez Galdós and is peculiar among the branches of modern

literature in not having been directly affected by Spanish-American works. Perhaps the chief tendency has been the reproduction of scenes of ordinary life, which involves a weakening of the plot, the disappearance of *dénouement*, and the deeper psychological study of character. They are charming in their way, but their dramatic qualities are weak. In fact, many of them strike the reader as having been intended to be read, not played. This is perhaps the effect of the growing popularity of the cinematograph, which is gradually diverting the masses from the theatre. But it is also due to the modern preference for 'shows,' i.e. plays of the revue and musical comedy type, in which scenery, costumes, and stage properties are more important than the words.

In these circumstances, the popularity of the *género chico*, almost to the exclusion of the drama proper, is hardly surprising. Most of the theatres in Madrid during the first years of the century preferred to stage these one-hour pieces which were short, scarcely dramatic sketches of contemporary manners. When they depended chiefly or altogether on dialogue, they were called *sainetes*, and when music played a large part in them they were *zarzuelas* or *líricas*. If much was made of the costumes they became *revistas*. The most popular writers were Carlos Arniches, Enrique García Álvarez, Antonio Paso, and Joaquín Abati, while the music was supplied by men like Tomás Bretón, Manuel Fernández Caballero, and Joaquín Valverde. About 1910 the amusing sketches of manners gave way to a series of puns and topical allusions, and the form at once yielded to the modern tendency to break up by developing into the so-called *género infimo*, which consists of short scenes of various types, none of which can be regarded as literary. The best writers then turned away from the playlet and returned to drama proper, which has accordingly shown a great improvement within the last few years.

The methods of Pérez Galdós were continued by José

López Pinillos (b. 1875), whose best plays are *La sangre de Cristo* (1907) and *Esclavitud* (1918). But the first star of the drama of the new era was JACINTO BENEVENTE (b. 1866). The son of a doctor and born in Madrid, Benevente has educated himself into a cosmopolitanism which shows itself clearly in the scenes of his plays, where we see life depicted as it may be found in the great hotels of any European capital or the fashionable watering-places whose sojourners come from far and wide. The writer is an intellectual who prefers ideas to characters; hence, one cannot think of a single creation of his. He aims at an exact reproduction of life, a theory of literature which appears in the light of a fatal heresy. The result is that his work is as a rule not dramatic and makes better reading than playing. Yet his comedies are pleasant and amusing, always betraying the urbane man of the world behind them. Like all of his generation, he makes it his business to aim darts from time to time at the politicians of his country. His plays are numerous, his output averaging two a year from 1892 onwards. Among the best are *Los intereses creados* (1907), *La princesa Bebé* (1905), and *La escuela de las princesas* (1909).

His work was taken up by GREGORIO MARTÍNEZ SIERRA, who was born on March 6th, 1881, at Madrid. Having failed in his efforts to take a degree in history at the University of Madrid, he turned to literature, and at seventeen published a poem, *El poema del trabajo* which bore an introduction by Benevente. Other poems, or 'pastels,' as he characteristically named them, and some short stories followed. In 1907, he began play-writing in collaboration with the Catalan Santiago Rusiñol. Altogether, he has written forty plays, not counting collaborations, and he has translated or adapted forty-seven plays from French, English, Catalan, or German originals. Meanwhile, he had taken up journalism, founding a periodical named *Helios* and the publishing house of La Biblioteca Renacimiento, whose object is to publish translations of

world classics. Later, he started another publishing firm of his own, La Biblioteca Estrella ; but in 1916 he assumed the management of the Teatro eslava and devoted himself to the production of musical comedies, operettas, grand opera, and pantomime. His wife María Martínez Sierra is a feminist leader and has collaborated with her husband in works on the position of women. His chief plays are *Madama Pepita* (1912), the story of a dress-maker, in which the character of Pepita is well drawn, *La mujer del héroe* (1914), and *Don Juan de España* (1921), another original treatment of the old lady-killer's theme.

Manuel Linares Rivas (b. 1867), a fertile dramatist, whose plays are sketches of contemporary manners, but show a tedious sameness, is at his best in *Aire defuera* (1904) and *El abolengo* (1904). But we must pass on to the brothers SERAFÍN (b. 1871) and JOAQUÍN (b. 1873) ÁLVAREZ QUINTERO, whose work is of such a standard that it has won European fame. The authors are Andalusian, and their best work has been done in character-sketches of persons of their own province. Besides a number of pieces of the *género chico*, they have written many full-length comedies, all of which are marked by Andalusian gaiety and wit. *Los galeotes* (1900) is the story of a kindly and unbusiness-like bookseller ; *La consulesa*, which has been played in London under the name of 'The lady from Alfaqueque,' is also based on the tendency of rogues to impose on good nature ; *Las de Caín* (1908) is a series of farcical scenes brought about by the devices used to marry off the daughters of a certain don Sigismundo. There is satire, as in *La prisa* and *La musa loca*, patriotic sentiment in *La calumniada*, but the key-note of the plays is gaiety and laughter.

A new kind of lyrical drama has been attempted by Eduardo Marquina and Francisco de Villaespesa, as well as by the poetical novelist Valle-Inclán and Antonio Rey Soto, but these efforts have achieved only moderate success. *El cuento de Abril* by Valle-Inclán deserves

mention for its reminiscences of the legend of Macías *el enamorado*. Our account must close with a reference to JACINTO GRAU DELGADO, whose *Bodas de Comacho* has at once established his fame.

The poets of the age need not detain us long. They are many, but they live in an age when science has chilled poetic feeling and has once more brought verse to a display of mannerisms whose technique is not understood of the people. Spanish-American influence has introduced symbolism with its coloured audition: *O gracia rota, O sueño azul deshecho*, cries JUAN RAMÓN JIMÉNEZ (b. 1881), the author of *Platero y yo* (1914), *La soledad sonora* (1908), and other things, and the very type of modern poet. This fashion has even entered into prose, and we read in Salvador Madariaga's latest book: 'Let the sounds be compared of the words *génie* and *seny*, and the difference will be perceived between a geometric line drawn on a white paper by a mathematician and the heavy impress of a sculptor's thumb on a piece of soft clay.' Here we find the connexion of colour with sound as well as an analogy highly typical of the Spanish modernist. Jiménez is as ready as any Góngora with his neologisms, while his metre challenges every accepted rule. Indeed, the modernists eschew metre and depend on rhythm for their effect. That is why their work reads like florid prose. Their poems are for the most part short. They are incoherent, like the *Greguerías* of Gómez de la Serna, and meant to express some one ethereal idea. Often enough these ideas are with difficulty perceived, for modernist verse is intended for the initiate alone.

Take the following stanza of Jiménez's *Nocturno* :—

¿ Y adonde voy ? Pobre alma,
¿ adónde y porqué te vas . . . ?
—Yo no sé . . . Siento una pena
y un deseo de llorar . . .

Note the jerkiness of the style, a jerkiness increased by the trick of inserting a series of dots in place of recognised

stops. Yet there is music in the verse, and at times the imagery is as clear as an old woodcut:—

Las antiguas arañas melodiosas temblaban
maravillosamente sobre las mustias flores . . .
sus cristales, heridos de la luna, sonaban
guirnaldas temblorosas de pálidos colores. . . .

But notice how subdued are the colours, for these modernists affect the subfusc.

Similar verse has flowed from the pens of Salvador Rueda (b. 1857), though he was born too early to be a full-fledged modernist, Francisco Villaespesa (b. 1877), whose *Después de ánimas* is one of the fine things in the language with its quiet picture of the medieval baronial hall, Manuel Machado (b. 1874), Enrique Díez-Canedo (b. 1879), Enrique López Alarcón (b. 1881), and Eduardo Marquina the novelist. But not all contemporary poets have been modernist. Antonio Machado (b. 1875) has attempted to preserve the traditional measures, and in this he has been followed by José María Gabriel y Galán (1870–1905) and various others who shall be nameless, for we draw so near to our own times that many authors have had no time even to collect their verses from the newspaper corners in which they first saw light.

This brings us to an end of our account of Spanish literature, a body of work second only in quantity to our own and if second to any in quality, at least only so to the literature which includes Chaucer, Shakspeare, Sir Thomas Browne, and Milton. After more than a century of submergence under a flood of foreign influence, it has once again found its true native inspiration and is at the present day one of the most flourishing of literatures, holding out a brilliant promise for the future.

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